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## XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

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EXPOSITIONS HELLÉNICA

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# XENOPHON

HELLENICA, BOOKS I—V

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
CARLETON L. BROWNSON

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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XENOPHON

HELLENICA BOOKS I-V

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

CARLETON L. TAYLOR



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## INTRODUCTION

THE *Hellenica* is Xenophon's history of his own times. Beginning in the autumn of 411 B.C., when the author was probably about twenty years of age, it covers the events of the following fifty years, down to 362 B.C.

The Peloponnesian War, which was primarily a struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta but which involved the entire Greek world, began in 431 and ended in 404 B.C. The historian of this war was Thucydides, himself at one time a general on the Athenian side. Thucydides died, however, without completing his task, and it is at the point where his history breaks off that Xenophon begins. The first part of the *Hellenica* accordingly brings the story of the Peloponnesian War to a conclusion (411-404 B.C.); Xenophon then goes on to describe the internal disorders which ensued in Athens (404-401 B.C.); the war undertaken by the Spartans, now the undisputed "leaders of all Hellas," against the Persian Empire (399-387 B.C.); the indecisive contest known as the Corinthian War (394-387 B.C.), in which various Greek states united in an attempt

## INTRODUCTION

to curb the growing power of Sparta ; the inglorious Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), whereby the Persian king assumed to confirm Sparta's title as mistress of the Greek world ; the later years of Spartan leadership (387-371 B.C.), marked especially by sometimes harsh, sometimes treacherous, but ultimately futile, efforts to check the rise of Thebes ; the humiliation of Sparta and the triumph of Thebes in the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.) ; and the following period of Theban supremacy (369-362 B.C.), brought to a close by the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), in which the Thebans were victorious but lost their great commander, Epaminondas. The *Hellenica*, then, is the story of Sparta's triumph over her old enemy, Athens, of her day of power, and of her overthrow by a new enemy, Thebes.

A historian who should set himself the task of narrating the events of his own lifetime might naturally be expected to write his history part by part, as time went on, instead of waiting till toward the close of his life to tell the whole story in its entirety. In fact, the investigations of many scholars have shown that the *Hellenica* falls into three main divisions, written at considerable intervals : Part I. (I. i. 1-II. iii. 10), completing Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War ; Part II. (II. iii. 11-V. i. 36), from the close of the Peloponnesian War to the Peace of Antalcidas ; and Part III. (V. ii. 1-the end), from the Peace of Antalcidas to the battle of Mantinea. The dates of the composition of these

## INTRODUCTION

various parts have been approximately fixed as follows: Part I., 393 B.C. or a very little later; Part II., between 385 and 380 B.C.; and Part III., between 362 and 354 B.C.

Xenophon was in many respects admirably fitted to be the historian of the epoch which he describes. An Athenian by birth and training, he was still a citizen of the world. He not only lived for considerable periods in various other states of Greece—Sparta, Elis, and Corinth—but he had become acquainted through personal experience with the Greeks of Asia and with the Persian Empire. In early life he had been a devoted follower of Socrates, while in later years he was an intimate friend of King Agesilaus of Sparta, whom he accompanied on several of the campaigns described in the *Hellenica*. He might have been presumed to possess the temper to write an impartial history and the information and capacity to write an accurate one.

Nevertheless, the *Hellenica* is neither accurate nor impartial. Not that Xenophon is guilty of errors of commission, for from these the *Hellenica* is notably free; but his omissions are so frequent and so considerable that the reader is either sadly puzzled or in many cases is given an utterly wrong impression. Thus, while it is clear that the primary purpose of the *Hellenica* was to complete Thucydides' interrupted narrative, Xenophon is by no means careful to secure precise continuity between the closing chapters of Thucydides and his own opening chapters; and he is

## INTRODUCTION

just as little solicitous about securing precise continuity between the different chapters of the *Hellenica* itself; instead, we find him alluding to events as though already described of which he has told us nothing or introducing us without explanation to a personage who is unknown to us. More serious is the fact that some important omissions appear to be intentional and dictated by the author's partiality. He is not prejudiced in favour of Athens because it was his native city, nor yet against Athens because it had banished him. It is between Sparta and Thebes that he cannot hold the scales true. In his ardent admiration for all things Spartan, he excuses Sparta's defeats and fails to mention her humiliations; while in his almost unconcealed hatred toward the Thebans, he puts wrong constructions upon their acts and abridges the record of their achievements.

It is necessary to dwell more upon Xenophon's imperfections as a historian than upon his excellences in order to correct the wrong impression which a reading of the *Hellenica* might otherwise produce. His excellences, however, are not few nor slight. He is clear-sighted, straightforward, and sound in his judgments of men and events; and if he sometimes, especially when his Spartan sympathies are involved, fails to tell the whole truth or opens the way to wrong inferences, he still is never guilty of direct misstatement. His narrative, often plain to the point of bareness, possesses the great merits of clearness, directness, and entire freedom from exaggeration or

## INTRODUCTION

a striving after effect; and his style is not only characterized at all times by grace and ease, but not infrequently by beauty and power. All in all, his history is much the best authority we have for the half century which it covers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other more important authorities for the history of this period are: (1) Diodorus Siculus, who lived during the age of Augustus and compiled from various sources a rhetorical and uncritical history of the world (Books XIII.-XV. treating of the period covered by the *Hellenica*); and (2) Plutarch, in his lives of Alcibiades, Lysander, Agesilaus, Pelopidas, and Artaxerxes. Aristotle, in his *Constitution of the Athenians*, and Lysias, in two orations dealing with the rule of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, contribute additional information of great value to supplement the earlier portion of Xenophon's narrative.





## MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

### 1.—MANUSCRIPTS

Among the numerous MSS. of the *Hellenica* six are generally recognized as of superior excellence, and are ranked in the following order :—

- B. Parisinus 1738, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.
- M. Ambrosianus A 4, at Milan, dated 1344.
- D. Parisinus 1642, in the National Library at Paris, of the fifteenth century.
- V. Marcianus 368, in the Library of St. Mark at Venice, written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.
- C. Parisinus 2080, in the National Library at Paris, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century.
- F. Perizonianus 6, in the Library of the University of Leyden, dated 1456.

A recently discovered papyrus fragment, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna and assigned to the third century A.D., has been found valuable in confirming the readings of the best MS., B, and in preserving correct spellings where the MSS. are in error. It includes portions of the first book, and is designated Π.

### 2.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS

#### (a) *Complete Works of Xenophon.*

- JUNTA : Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps*. By E. Boninus. ✓
- JUNTA : Florence, 1527. Second edition, per Haeredes P. Juntae.
- ALDUS : Venice, 1525. By F. Asulanus.
- STEPHANUS, H. : Geneva, 1561, 2 vols.
- STEPHANUS, H. : Geneva, 1581. Second edition.
- LEUNCLAVIUS, J. : Frankfort, 1594, 2 vols.

## MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

SAUPPE, G. : Leipzig (Tauchnitz), 1865-7 (new edition, 1867-70), 5 vols.

MARCHANT, E. C. : Oxford, 1900—, 5 vols., of which 4 have thus far appeared.

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DAKYNs, H. G. : London, 1890—, 4 vols., of which 3 have appeared. English Translation of Xenophon.

### *(b) Separate Editions of the Hellenica.*

ALDUS : Venice, 1502. *Editio Princeps* of the *Hellenica*.

DINDORF, L. : Oxford, 1853.

COBET, C. G. : Amsterdam, 1862 (second edition, Leyden, 1880).

BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, B. : Leipzig (Teubner), 1860-91, 2 vols.

KURZ, E. : Munich, 1873-4, 2 vols.

BREITENBACH, L. : Berlin (Weidmann), 1873-84, 3 vols.

GROSSER, R. : Gotha (Perthes), 1885-93, 3 vols.

KELLER, O. : Leipzig (Teubner), 1890. *Editio major*. The best critical edition.

KELLER, O. : *Editio minor* (Teubner text), 1890.

SOROF, F. G. : Leipzig, 1899-1901. Selections.

MANATT, I. J. : Boston, 1888. Books I-IV.

BENNETT, C. E. : Boston, 1892. Books V-VII.

BLAKE, R. W. : Boston, 1894-6. Books I-II.

UNDERHILL, G. E. : Oxford, 1900. A Commentary (to accompany the text of Marchant).

BROWNSON, C. L. : New York, 1908. Selections.

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The present edition adopts the text of Keller, all departures therefrom, as well as important emendations made or accepted by Keller, being mentioned in the critical notes.

# XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

## BOOK I

## ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

### Α

Ι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθύς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐτῷ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου.

2 Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων<sup>1</sup> Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρα· κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὥς ἤνοιγε,<sup>2</sup> περὶ τὸ

3 Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.

4 Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως

5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι

<sup>1</sup> τούτων MSS.: Keller brackets.

<sup>2</sup> ἤνοιγε MSS.: ἤνυτε Kel.

# XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

## BOOK I

I. AFTER this,<sup>1</sup> not many days later, Thymochares 411 B.C.  
came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon  
the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought  
another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were  
victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas.

Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter,  
Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed into the Helles-  
pont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at  
daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher de-  
seried him, he signalled to the generals, and they put  
out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus,  
fleeing from them towards the shore, beached his  
triremes, as fast as he got them clear of the enemy,  
in the neighbourhood of Rhoeteum. And when  
the Athenians came near, the men under Dorieus  
fought, from their ships and from the shore, until  
the Athenians sailed away to Madytus, to the rest of  
their fleet, without having accomplished anything.

Now Mindarus caught sight of the battle as he  
was sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, and hurrying to  
the sea he launched his triremes and set out, in  
order to pick up the ships under Dorieus. And

<sup>1</sup> i.e. after the last events described by Thucydides.  
The scene is the Hellespont.

- ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἄβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἡὺνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν νικούντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπείσ-
- 6 πλεί δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπείσβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ
- 7 ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι,
- 8 εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλη ὥχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἰς ὧν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.
- 9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλησποντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα
- 10 πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς.
- 11 Οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἐξή-

<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.



the Athenians set out against him and did battle, 411 B.C. along the strand near Abydus, from morning till late afternoon. They were at some points victorious and at others defeated, when Alcibiades sailed into the Hellespont to their support, with eighteen ships. Thereupon the Peloponnesians took to flight in the direction of Abydus; and Pharnabazus came along the shore to their aid, and riding his horse into the sea as far as possible, bore a share in the fighting and cheered on his followers, cavalry and infantry. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians made a barrier of their ships and marshalled themselves on the shore and fought. At length the Athenians sailed away to Sestus after capturing thirty of the enemy's ships, though without their crews, and recovering those which they had previously lost themselves. From Sestus all but forty of their ships went off in different directions, outside the Hellespont, to collect money; and Thra-syllus, who was one of the generals, set sail for Athens to report these events and to ask for troops and ships.

After this Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont; and when Alcibiades with a single trireme went to visit him, bearing friendly offerings and gifts, Tissaphernes seized him and imprisoned him in Sardis, saying that the King ordered him to make war upon the Athenians. Thirty days later, however, Alcibiades, together with Mantitheus, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, provided themselves with horses and made their escape from Sardis by night to Clazomenae.

Meanwhile the Athenians at Sestus, learning that 410 B.C. Mindarus was planning to sail against them with

- κοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομένων σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμένοι εἰεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκέλευσε ἐκέ-
- 12 λευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφό-
- 13 τεροι ἡργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἔξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόν-
- 14 νησον. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἶη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ
- 15 βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὅς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν
- 16 ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασά-

sixty ships, withdrew by night to Cardia. There Alcibiades joined them, coming from Clazomenae with five triremes and a dispatch boat. But upon learning that the Peloponnesian ships had set out from Abydos to Cyzicus, he proceeded overland to Sestus and gave orders that the ships should sail around to that place. When they had arrived there and he was on the point of putting out to sea for battle, Theramenes sailed in from Macedonia with a reinforcement of twenty ships, and at the same time Thrasybulus arrived from Thasos with twenty more, both of them having been engaged in collecting money. And after bidding them also to follow after him when they had removed their cruising sails,<sup>1</sup> Alcibiades set off with his own ships to Parium; and when all the ships had come together at Parium, to the number of eighty-six, they set sail during the ensuing night, and on the next day at breakfast time arrived at Proconnesus. There they learned that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, and also Pharnabazus with his army. Accordingly they remained that day at Proconnesus, but on the following day Alcibiades called an assembly of his men and told them that they must needs fight at sea, fight on land, and fight against fortresses. "For we," he said, "have no money, but the enemy have an abundance of it from the King." Now on the preceding day, when they had come to anchor, Alcibiades had taken into his custody all the vessels in the harbour, even the small ones, in order that no one should report to the enemy the size of his fleet, and he made proclamation that death would be the punishment of any one who was caught sailing across to the other side of the strait. And after the assembly he made preparations for battle and, in the

<sup>1</sup> Thus "clearing for action."

μενος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν  
Κύζικον ὕντος πολλῶ. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς  
Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου  
ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς  
γυμναζομένας πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπει-  
17 λημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα οὔσας. οἱ δὲ  
Πελοποννήσιοι, ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριή-  
ρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῶ ἢ πρότερον καὶ  
πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορ-  
μίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς  
18 ἐναντίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν  
περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίν-  
δαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος  
ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς  
δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὥχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς  
Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ  
αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.

Ἐκείθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
19 ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοπον-  
νησίων καὶ Φαρναβύζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέ-  
20 χοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας  
αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν  
παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασά-  
μενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον.  
ἐκείθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν.  
21 καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ  
στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ,  
22 χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς  
Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν,  
καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ  
τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων

midst of a heavy rain, set out for Cyzicus. When he 410 B.C.  
 was near Cyzicus, the weather cleared and the sun  
 came out, and he sighted the ships under Mindarus,  
 sixty in number, engaged in practice at some dis-  
 tance from the harbour and already cut off from it  
 by his own fleet. But the Peloponnesians, when  
 they saw that the Athenian triremes were far more  
 numerous than before and were near the harbour,  
 fled to the shore; and mooring their ships together,  
 they fought with their adversaries as they sailed  
 down upon them. Alcibiades, however, with twenty  
 of his ships sailed round the fleets and landed on  
 the shore. When Mindarus saw this, he also  
 landed, and fell fighting on the shore; and those  
 who were with him fled. And the Athenians took  
 away with them to Proconnesus all the Peloponnesian  
 ships, except those of the Syracusans; for these were  
 burned by their own crews.

From Proconnesus the Athenians sailed on the  
 next day against Cyzicus; and the Cyzicenes ad-  
 mitted them, inasmuch as the Peloponnesians and  
 Pharnabazus had evacuated the city. There Alci-  
 biades remained for twenty days, and after obtaining  
 a great deal of money from the Cyzicenes, but with-  
 out doing any further harm in the city, sailed back  
 to Proconnesus. From there he sailed to Perinthus  
 and Selymbria. And the Perinthians admitted the  
 Athenian forces to their city, and the Selymbrians,  
 while not admitting them, gave them money. From  
 there they proceeded to Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia,  
 and fortified it, established a custom house in the  
 city, and proceeded to collect the tithe-duty from  
 vessels sailing out of the Pontus<sup>1</sup>; they also left there

<sup>1</sup> i.e. a tax of ten per cent. on all goods passing out through  
 the Bosphorus.

καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὥχοντο.

- 23 Παρὰ δὲ Ἴπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἐρρεῖ τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπессύα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες.
- 24 ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας
- 25 γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπόλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδης
- 26 κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθύς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβόηθει.
- 27 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρα-



as a garrison thirty ships and two of the generals, 410 B.C. Theramenes and Eumachus, to have charge of the fort, to attend to the outgoing ships, and to harm the enemy in any other way they could. The other generals returned to the Hellespont.

Meanwhile a letter dispatched to Lacedaemon by Hippocrates, vice-admiral under Mindarus, was intercepted and taken to Athens; it ran as follows: "The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We know not what to do." Pharnabazus, however, urged the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies not to be discouraged over a matter of ship-timber—for he said there was plenty of that in the King's land—so long as their bodies were safe; and he not only gave to each man a cloak and subsistence for two months, but he also armed the sailors and set them as guards over his own coast-line. Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the various states, he bade them build triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida. And while the ship-building was going on, the Syracusans helped the Antandrians to finish a portion of their wall, and in the garrison-duty made themselves most popular. For this reason the Syracusans now enjoy at Antandrus the privileges of benefactors and citizens. As for Pharnabazus, after making these arrangements he went at once to the relief of Calchedon.

At this time word came from home to the Syracusan generals that they had been banished by the democratic party.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly they called together their

<sup>1</sup> The generals being of the oligarchical party in Syracuse.

- τιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύ-  
ροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰν, ὥς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν  
ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύ-  
μους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ  
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ αἰὲ παραγγελλόμενα,  
ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφί-  
κωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι αὐτ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοή-  
σαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ  
τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται.  
οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυ-  
τῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον  
ἔφασαν χρήναι δίδόναι, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε  
ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ  
ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι  
γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν  
κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ  
τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσιν.<sup>1</sup> οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαι-  
τιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν, ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ αὐτ'  
ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ' Ἐπικύδου καὶ  
Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν  
δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξειν  
αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμ-  
ψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλουντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ  
δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα  
ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ  
κοινότητα. ὦν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστά-

<sup>1</sup> §§ 27, 28 as the MSS.: Kel. inserts μεμνημένους . . . ὑπάρ-  
χουσιν after παραγγελλόμενα.

soldiers and, through Hermocrates as spokesman, 410 B.C. lamented their misfortune in being unjustly and illegally banished, all without exception. They urged their soldiers to continue zealous in the future, as they had been in the past, and to be true men in obeying every order; and they directed them to choose new commanders, to hold office until those who had been chosen to fill their places should arrive from Syracuse. The men, however, and particularly the captains and marines and steersmen, set up a shout at this and bade the generals remain in command. They replied that they ought not to indulge in partizan opposition to their own government. "But if anyone," they said, "has any charge to bring against us, you should give us a hearing, remembering how many naval battles you have won and how many ships you have captured when fighting by yourselves, and how often when associated with others you have proved yourselves invincible under our leadership, occupying the most honourable post in the line of battle on account of our skill and your own zealous spirit, exhibited both on land and sea." But when no one brought any charge against them, at the request of the troops they remained until their successors arrived,—Demarchus, the son of Epicydes, Myskon, the son of Menecrates, and Potamis, the son of Gnosis. Then, after most of the captains had taken oath that, when they returned to Syracuse, they would bring their generals back from exile, they sped them on their ways, commending them all; but in particular those who had associated with Hermocrates felt exceedingly the loss of his care and enthusiasm and democratic spirit. For the best of those whose acquaintance he

- τους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπι-  
 βατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρῶ καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέραν  
 συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνε-  
 κοινοῦτο ὃ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν,  
 καὶ κείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ  
 31 τοῦ παραχρήμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. ἐκ τού-  
 των Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ  
 ἠυδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ  
 κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας<sup>1</sup> δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν  
 Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ  
 Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικό-  
 μενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα  
 λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας  
 κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ  
 ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον  
 καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.  
 32 Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως  
 γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λά-  
 κων ἄρμοστής Ἐτεόνικος. καταϊτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα  
 πράξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων  
 ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος  
 ἠθροΐκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἔξεπέμφθη Κρατη-  
 σιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.  
 33 Περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν  
 Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἀγίς ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν  
 ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθη-  
 ναίων.<sup>2</sup> Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας  
 παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον,<sup>3</sup> ὥς μαχομένους, ἂν

<sup>1</sup> κατηγορήσας . . . τριήρεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν Ἀθηναίων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>3</sup> After Λύκειον the MSS. have γυμνάσιον: Kel. brackets.

made, both captains and steersmen and marines, he 410 B.C.  
 used to gather every day in the morning and at evening to his own tent, where he communicated to them whatever he was planning to say or to do; he instructed them also, sometimes directing them to speak *ex tempore* and sometimes after deliberation. As a result of this Hermocrates enjoyed the greatest reputation in the general council, and was thought superior to all others as speaker and adviser. He now went to visit Pharnabazus; and since he had once brought an accusation against Tissaphernes at Lacedaemon, in which Astyochus supported him as witness, and had been adjudged to speak the truth, he received money from Pharnabazus before he asked for it, and busied himself with collecting mercenaries and triremes with a view to his restoration to Syracuse. Meanwhile the Syracusans who succeeded the banished generals arrived at Miletus and took over the ships and the troops.

At about this time a revolution took place in Thasos, and the partisans of Lacedaemon and the Laconian governor Eteonicus were driven out of the island. And Pasippidas the Laconian, who was accused of having managed this intrigue, in collusion with Tissaphernes, was banished from Sparta, while Crate-sippidas was sent out to the fleet which Pasippidas had collected from the allies, and assumed command of it at Chios.

During these days also, and while Thrasyllus was in Athens, Agis made a raid from Decelea up to the very walls of the city; and Thrasyllus led forth the Athenians and all others who were in the city and marshalled them beside the Lyceum,<sup>1</sup> with the intention of engaging the enemy if they approached.

<sup>1</sup> A gymnasium outside the walls.



- 34 προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἄγρις ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἰππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.
- 35 Ἄγρις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας<sup>1</sup> ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σίτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ<sup>2</sup> Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
- 36 δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ὥχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ αἰὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.
- 37 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγούμενου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινούντα καὶ Ἰμέραν.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας Kel. regards as corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph and several later passages which summarize in the same way events outside of Greece are regarded by Kel. and almost all other edd. as interpolations. They are often inaccurate and always needless. Apparently they were inserted in unskilful imitation of the well-known practice of Thucydides.

When Agis saw this, he withdrew in haste, and some 410 B.C.  
 few of his rear line were killed by the Athenian  
 light troops. In consequence of this occurrence the  
 Athenians were still more ready to give Thrasyllus  
 the help for which he had come, and they voted that  
 he might choose out for service a thousand hoplites,  
 a hundred horsemen, and fifty triremes.

Meanwhile Agis, who could see from Decelea great  
 numbers of grain-ships sailing in to Piraeus, said that  
 it was useless for his troops to be trying all this long  
 time to shut off the Athenians from access to their  
 land, unless one should occupy also the country from  
 which the grain was coming in by sea; and that  
 it was best to send to Calchedon and Byzantium  
 Clearchus, the son of Rhamphias, who was diplo-  
 matic agent for the Byzantines at Sparta. When  
 this was resolved upon, fifteen ships were manned by  
 the Megarians and the other allies, more properly  
 transports than warships, and Clearchus set out with  
 them. Three of his ships were destroyed in the  
 Hellespont by the nine Attic ships which were con-  
 tinually on duty there to protect the Athenian  
 merchantmen, but the rest escaped to Sestus and  
 from there made their way safely to Byzantium.

So the year ended, being the year in which the  
 Carthaginians, under the leadership of Hannibal,  
 made an expedition against Sicily, with an army of  
 one hundred thousand men, and in the course of  
 three months captured two Greek cities, Selinus and  
 Himera.



- II. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ἣ προστεθείσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκᾳ Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς χρησόμενος ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου
- 2 τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγεια· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεύσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλούς
- 3 ἐδίωκον. οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλούς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τρο-
- 4 παῖον ἔστησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα· Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ
- 5 ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων

<sup>1</sup> ᾧ . . . Εὐκτῆμονος rejected by Kel. and edd. generally, as are later passages of the same sort, for reasons similar to those stated in the note on i. 37.

II. In the next year—in which was celebrated 400 B.C. the ninety-third Olympiad, when the newly added two-horse race was won by Euagoras of Elis and the stadium<sup>1</sup> by Eubotas of Cyrene, Euarchippus being now ephor at Sparta and Euctemon archon at Athens—the Athenians fortified Thoricus; and Thrasyllus took the ships which had been voted him, equipped five thousand of his sailors so that he might employ them as peltasts also, and set sail at the beginning of the summer for Samos. After remaining there for three days he sailed to Pygela; and there he laid waste the country and attacked the wall of the town. A force from Miletus, however, came to the aid of the Pygelans, and finding the Athenian light troops scattered, pursued them. Thereupon the peltasts and two companies of the hoplites came to the aid of their light troops and killed all but a few of the men from Miletus; they also captured about two hundred shields and set up a trophy. On the next day they sailed to Notium and from there, after making the necessary preparations, marched to Colophon; and the Colophonians gave them their allegiance. It was now the time when the grain was ripening, and during the following night they made a raid into Lydia, burned many villages, and seized money, slaves, and other booty in great quantities. Stages, the Persian, however, was in this region, and when the Athenians had scattered from their camp for private plunder, he captured one of them and killed seven others, despite the fact that their cavalry

<sup>1</sup> The 200 yards foot-race.

- 6 ἓνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. Θρά-  
 συλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν  
 τὴν στρατιάν, ὥς εἰς Ἑφεσον πλευσούμενος.  
 Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα,  
 στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλήν καὶ ἱππέας ἀπέ-  
 στελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἑφεσον<sup>1</sup> βοηθεῖν  
 7 τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ  
 ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἑφεσον ἔπλευσε,  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησὸν ἀποβι-  
 βάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπι-  
 βάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ  
 τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσήγε δύο  
 8 στρατόπεδα. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν  
 Ἑφέσιοι οἳ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε,  
 καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἳ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι  
 νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παρα-  
 γενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ  
 Ἰππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένοους  
 9 στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο.<sup>2</sup> οὗτοι δὲ πάν-  
 τες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν  
 Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ  
 ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥσεί ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν  
 θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος  
 ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ  
 10 ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὥς τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἑφέσιοι  
 τροπαῖον ἐνταῖθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ  
 Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις  
 κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεία ἔδοσαν καὶ κοινῇ  
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ τῷ βουλομένῳ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἑφεσον MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> Σελινούσiai δύο Kel. regards as corrupt.

came to the rescue. After this Thrasyllus led his 409 B.C.  
army back to the coast, with the intention of sailing to Ephesus. But when Tissaphernes learned of this plan, he gathered together a large army and sent out horsemen to carry word to everybody to rally at Ephesus for the protection of Artemis. And now, on the seventeenth day after his raid, Thrasyllus sailed to Ephesus; and having disembarked the hoplites at the foot of Mount Coressus, and the cavalry, peltasts, marines, and all the rest near the marsh on the opposite side of the city, he led forward the two divisions at daybreak. The defenders of the city sallied forth to meet the attack,—the Ephesians, the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought them, the crews of the original twenty Syracusan ships and of five others which chanced to have arrived there at the time, newly come from Syracuse under the command of Eucles, the son of Hippon, and Heraclides, the son of Aristogenes, and finally, the crews of two Selinuntine ships. All these contingents directed their first attack upon the hoplites at Coressus; and after routing them, killing about a hundred of them, and pursuing the rest down to the shore, they turned their attention to those by the marsh; and there also the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed. So the Ephesians set up a trophy there and a second at Coressus. They also gave to the Syracusans and Selinuntines, who had especially distinguished themselves, the prizes for valour, not only general prizes, but many to particular individuals among them, while upon any one of them who at any time might desire it they conferred the privilege of dwelling in Ephesus tax free; and to the Selinuntines, after

αεί. Σελινουσίους δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει,  
 ✕ καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν.

- 11 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπο-  
 λαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκει θάψαντες  
 αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.
- 12 ὁρμούντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παρα-  
 πλεύσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας  
 μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατε-
- 13 διώξαν εἰς Ἐφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμα-  
 λώτους Θράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάν-  
 τας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα  
 ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν  
 δὲ ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστόν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρα-  
 τευμα· ἐκείθεν δὲ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς  
 Λάμψακον.
- 14 Καὶ χειμὼν ἐπῆει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρα-  
 κόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διο-  
 ρύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο
- 15 εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμ-  
 ψάκῃ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στρατευμα  
 πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς  
 μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν  
 ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δὲ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον τειχί-
- 16 ζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἀβυδὸν· Φαρνά-  
 βαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχη

Selinus had been destroyed,<sup>1</sup> they gave the rights of 409 B.C.  
Ephesian citizenship as well.

As for the Athenians, after obtaining a truce and so recovering the bodies of their dead, they sailed back to Notium, buried the dead there, and sailed on towards Lesbos and the Hellespont. While they were at anchor in the harbour of Methymna, in Lesbos, they saw sailing past them from Ephesus the twenty-five Syracusan ships; and putting out to the attack they captured four of them, men and all, and chased the rest back to Ephesus. And Thrasyllus sent home to Athens all the prisoners with the exception of Alcibiades; this Alcibiades, who was an Athenian and a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades the general, he caused to be stoned to death. Then he set sail to Sestus to join the rest of the army; and from Sestus the entire force crossed over to Lampsacus.

And now the winter came on. During the course of it the Syracusan prisoners, who were immured in stone quarries in Piraeus, dug through the rock and made their escape by night, most of them to Decelea and the rest to Megara. Meanwhile at Lampsacus Alcibiades endeavoured to marshal his entire army as a unit, but the old soldiers were unwilling to be marshalled with the troops of Thrasyllus; for they said that they had never known defeat, while the others had just come from a defeat. Both contingents, however, wintered there together, occupying themselves in fortifying Lampsacus. They also made an expedition against Abydus; and Pharnabazus, who came to its aid with a large force of cavalry, was

<sup>1</sup> By the Carthaginians, shortly after the events here narrated.



- ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων  
 τοὺς τε ἰππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκα-  
 τόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο.  
 17 ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλ-  
 λου. ἐξῆλθον δὲ τινες καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ  
 χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασι-  
 λέως χώραν.  
 18 Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς  
 τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ  
 Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ  
 Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων  
 πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε  
 ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ  
 Λακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβῳτῇ.  
 19 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι  
 ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες  
 πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.<sup>1</sup>  
 III. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὸς  
 τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφο-  
 ρεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἔαρος ἀρχο-  
 μένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρελη-  
 λυθότων,<sup>2</sup> οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον  
 2 παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα  
 καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο  
 πρὸς Καλχηδόνη. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνηοι προσιόντας

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ . . . ἐμπεσόντος and Παντακλέους . . . παρεληλυθότων are probably interpolations. See crit. note on ii. 1.



defeated in battle and put to flight. And Alcibiades 409 B.C. pursued him with the Athenian cavalry and one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, under the command of Menander, until darkness covered the retreat. As a result of this battle the soldiers came together of their own accord and the old troops fraternised with those under Thrasyllus. The Athenians also made some other expeditions during the winter into the interior and laid waste the King's territory.

At the same period the Lacedaemonians granted terms to the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasium, allowing them to evacuate Coryphasium unmolested.<sup>1</sup> At about the same time, also, the colonists of Heracleia, in Trachis, were betrayed by the Achaeans in a battle where both peoples were drawn up against their enemies, the Oetaeans, and as a result about seven hundred of the Heraclaeots perished, together with the Lacedaemonian governor, Labotas.

So this year ended, being the year in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of the Persians, were again reduced to subjection.

III. During the ensuing year the temple of 408 B.C. Athena at Phocaea was struck by lightning and set on fire. When the winter ended and spring began,—Pantacles being now ephor and Antigenes archon, and the war having continued for twenty-two years—the Athenians sailed with their entire force to Proconnesus. From there they set out against Calchedon and Byzantium, and went into camp near Calchedon. Now the Calchedonians, when they learned that the

<sup>1</sup> Coryphasium, or Pylos, had been in the hands of the Athenians since 425 B.C. It was garrisoned largely by Messenians and Helots.

- αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν  
κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θράκας ἀστυγείτονας  
3 ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν  
ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρὰ πλεῖν  
κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆτει τὰ τῶν  
Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πολεμήσειν ἔφη  
4 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδωκαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ  
ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ  
πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα  
παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατ-  
ταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ  
5 τείχει. ἐνταῦθα Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαι-  
μόνιος ἄρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς  
στρατιώτας ὡς μαχοῦμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντι-  
παρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν  
περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιᾷ τε καὶ  
6 ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θρά-  
συλλος ἐμάχοντο ἐκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον  
πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινας  
καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης  
μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς  
7 τὴν πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνά-  
μενος συμμείξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἴπποκράτην διὰ τὴν  
στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτευχισμά-  
των ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον  
τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον.  
8 ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὥχεται εἰς τὸν  
Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πρά-  
ξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς

Athenians were approaching, had put all their portable property in the keeping of the Bithynian Thracians, their neighbours. Alcibiades, however, taking a few of the hoplites and the cavalry, and giving orders that the ships should sail along the coast, went to the Bithynians and demanded the property of the Calchedonians, saying that if they did not give it to him, he would make war upon them; so they gave it over. And when Alcibiades returned to his camp with the booty, after having concluded a treaty with the Bithynians, he proceeded with his whole army to invest Calchedon by building a wooden stockade which extended from sea to sea, taking in the river also in so far as this was practicable.<sup>1</sup> Thereupon Hippocrates, the Lacedaemonian governor, led forth his troops from the city to do battle; and the Athenians marshalled themselves against him, while Pharnabazus, outside the stockade, with infantry and horsemen in great numbers, tried to aid Hippocrates. Now for a long time Hippocrates and Thrasyllus fought, each with his hoplites, until Alcibiades came to the rescue with a few hoplites and the cavalry. Then Hippocrates was killed, and those who were with him fled back into the city. At the same time Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates owing to the narrowness of the space, since the stockade came down close to the river, retired to the Heracleium in the Calchedonian territory, where he had his camp. After this Alcibiades went off to the Hellespont and the Chersonese to collect money; and the rest of the generals concluded

<sup>1</sup> "From sea to sea," i.e. from Bosphorus to Propontis. The "river" broke the line of the stockade, but the latter was carried as near as possible to each bank of the river.

- Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα  
 δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὥς βασιλέα  
 9 πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν  
 καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν  
 φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν  
 καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναί-  
 10 οὺς δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ  
 βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ  
 τοῖς ὄρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Ση-  
 λυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἐλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον  
 ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ  
 Θράκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τρια-  
 11 κοσίων. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κακεῖνον  
 ὁμνῦναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι  
 ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη  
 12 ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κακεῖνος αὐτῷ ὁμείται. μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνά-  
 βαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν  
 Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ  
 καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλή-  
 13 λοις πίστει ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν  
 εὐθὺς ἀπῆει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευο-  
 μένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον.  
 ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλο-  
 κύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν  
 δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος·  
 ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πρέσβεις MSS.: Kel. brackets.

a compact with Pharnabazus which provided that, in consideration of their sparing Calchedon, Pharnabazus should give the Athenians twenty talents and should conduct Athenian ambassadors to the King; they also received from Pharnabazus a pledge under oath that the Calchedonians should pay to the Athenians precisely the same tribute they had been accustomed to pay and should settle the arrears of tribute, while they on their side made oath that the Athenians would not wage war upon the Calchedonians until the ambassadors should return from the King. Alcibiades was not present at the exchange of these oaths, but was in the neighbourhood of Selymbria; and when he had captured that city, he came to Byzantium, bringing with him all the forces of the Chersonesians and soldiers from Thrace and more than three hundred horsemen. Now Pharnabazus thought that Alcibiades also ought to give his oath, and so waited at Calchedon until he should come from Byzantium; but when he came, he said that he would not make oath unless Pharnabazus also should do the like to him. In the end, Alcibiades made oath at Chrysopolis to the representatives of Pharnabazus, Mitrobates and Arnapes, and Pharnabazus at Calchedon to the representatives of Alcibiades, Euryptolemus and Diotimus, both parties not only giving the official oath but also making personal pledges to one another. Immediately after this Pharnabazus went away, leaving word that the ambassadors who were going to the King should meet him at Cyzicus. The Athenians who were sent were Dorotheus, Philocydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus, and with them two Argives, Cleostratus and Pyrrolochus; ambassadors of the Lacedae-



Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.

- 14 Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγε· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς  
15 ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περι-  
οίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἑλιξος Μεγαρεὺς  
16 καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προ-  
17 δοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστής οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδα καὶ Ἑλίξω, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι<sup>1</sup> καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἃς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.  
18 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων,<sup>3</sup> Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος,

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλαι: Kel. inserts ἄλλη after it.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts after ὅπως.

<sup>3</sup> Βυζαντίων: Kel. here inserts πρὸς ἔργον ἐτράποντο· ἦσαν δὲ οἶδε.

monians also went aloirds tried for his life at Lacedaemonians, but was acquitted, 408 B.C.  
 with them Hermocratis betrayal, but was acquitted,  
 from Syracuse, and he did not betray the city, but

While Pharnabazus was a Byzantine, he said, not  
 the Athenians were bel when he saw children and  
 built a stockade around arvation,—for Clearchus, he  
 its wall with missiles from provisions the city contained  
 assault. Within Byzantedaemonians,—he had for  
 Lacedaemonian, its governemey, not for the sake  
 Laconian Perioeci, a few en.the Lacedaemonians.  
 contingent of Megarians, under tike trayers made  
 Helixus the Megarian, and one of Boeotians, but the  
 the command of Coeratadas. Now the Athenians,  
 finding that they were unable to accomplish any-  
 thing by force, persuaded some of the Byzantines to  
 betray the city. Meanwhile Clearchus, the governor,  
 supposing that no one would do that, arranged every-  
 thing as well as he could, turned over the charge of  
 the city to Coeratadas and Helixus, and crossed to  
 the opposite shore to meet Pharnabazus, in order to  
 get from him pay for the soldiers and also to collect  
 ships. His plan was to assemble those which had  
 been left behind by Pasippidas as guardships and  
 were now in the Hellespont, those at Antandrus,  
 and those which Agesandridas, a lieutenant of  
 Mindarus, had under his command on the Thracian  
 coast, and finally, to have other ships built; then,  
 after gathering them all together, he thought to  
 harry the allies of the Athenians and so draw off  
 their army from Byzantium. But when Clearchus  
 had sailed away, those who wanted to betray the  
 city of the Byzantines set about their work,—Cydon,  
 Ariston, Anaxicrates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. This



- Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μίερον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης, ἥδη φεύγων ἐκ εἰπών, ὅτι οὐ προ-  
 ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. <sup>1</sup> οἱ, παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ  
 14 Καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους, Βυζάντιος ὦν καὶ  
 ναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει, ἐνόητα σίτον Κλέ-  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολή, <sup>2</sup> στρατιώταις διδόναι.  
 15 ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Β' στρατιώταις διδόναι.  
 Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής -μίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ  
 οἰκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους.  
 Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ῥεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες  
 16 καὶ Βοιωτῶν, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον εἰσή-  
 ἔγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἐλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες  
 ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι  
 22 ποιήσαιεν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι  
 μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας  
 ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν  
 ἀποδρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

- IV. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυ-  
 γίας ἐν Γορδίῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ  
 2 Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομένου δὲ  
 τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα  
 ἀπῆντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἳ τε Λακεδαιμονίων  
 πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 πάντων ὦν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασι-  
 3 λέως, καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. add ὄνομα here : Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> ἄγγελοι MSS. : Kel. brackets.

Anaxilaus was afterwards tried for his life at Lacedaemon because of this betrayal, but was acquitted, on the plea that he did not betray the city, but rather saved it; he was a Byzantine, he said, not a Lacedaemonian, and when he saw children and women perishing of starvation,—for Clearchus, he said, gave whatever provisions the city contained to the soldiers of the Lacedaemonians,—he had for this reason admitted the enemy, not for the sake of money nor out of hatred to the Lacedaemonians. As has been said, however, these betrayers made their preparations, and then, opening by night the gates that lead to the Thracian Square, as it is called, let in the Athenian army and Alcibiades. Now Helixus and Coeratadas, who knew nothing of what was going on, hurried to the market-place with all their troops; but when they found that the enemy were masters everywhere and that they could do nothing, they surrendered themselves. They were all sent off to Athens, and as they were disembarking at Piraeus, Coeratadas slipped away in the crowd and made his escape to Decelea. 408 B.C.

IV. As for Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, while they were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, they heard what had happened at Byzantium. But as they were continuing their journey to the King, at the opening of the spring, they met not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning,—Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers<sup>1</sup> besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted,—but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the 407 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The reference is uncertain.

- καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλείον σφράγισμα ἔχουσιν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον  
 4 κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα<sup>1</sup> παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι,  
 5 εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζω εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδὲ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθη-  
 6 ναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε  
 7 ἀποπέμψειν, ὥς μηδὲν μέμψηται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνι-  
 αυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφείναι αὐ-  
 τοὺς, φάσκων ὁμωμοκέναι ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριο-  
 βαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.  
 8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιω-  
 τῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάμον· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας ἐς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τέλαιντα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον.  
 9 Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θρά-  
 κης ὄρχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> μὲν μάλιστα MSS.: μάλιστα μὲν Kol.

Lacedaemonians in the war. This Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea<sup>1</sup> and bearing the King's seal, which contained among other things these words: "I send down Cyrus as caranus"—the word "caranus" means "lord"—"of those whose mustering-place is Castolus." When the Athenian ambassadors heard all this and saw Cyrus, they wished, if it were possible, to make their journey to the King, but otherwise to return home. Cyrus, however, directed Pharnabazus either to give the ambassadors into his charge, or at any rate not to let them go home as yet, for he wished the Athenians not to know of what was going on. Pharnabazus, accordingly, in order that Cyrus might not censure him, detained the ambassadors for a time, now saying that he would conduct them to the King, and again, that he would let them go home; but when three years had passed, he requested Cyrus to release them, on the plea that he had given his oath to conduct them back to the coast, since he could not take them to the King. So they sent the ambassadors to Ariobarzanes and directed him to escort them on; and he conducted them to Cius, in Mysia, whence they set sail to join the Athenian army.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, wishing to sail home with his troops, made straight for Samos; from there he sailed, with twenty of the ships, to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria; and after collecting there a hundred talents, he returned to Samos. Thrasybulus, however, with thirty ships, went off to the Thracian coast, where he reduced all the places which had

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, as contrasted with the interior of the Persian Empire.

- Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ  
 Θάσον, ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ  
 10 στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ  
 στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἤκειν  
 αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εἶλοντο Ἀλκι-  
 βιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα,  
 11 Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης  
 δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν  
 εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἵκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς  
 Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυν-  
 θάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν  
 τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ  
 12 πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν  
 οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ  
 μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν  
 εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις,  
 τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες  
 οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ  
 πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ᾤσασθαι.  
 13 Καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς  
 καὶ ὃ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἡθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς  
 ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν  
 Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν ὥς κράτιστος εἴη  
 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπι-  
 βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαττον ἐκείνου δυνα-  
 μένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> In the MSS. λέγοντες is followed by ὅτι, and μόνος (below) by ἀπελογήθη ὡς: Kel. brackets.

revolted to the Lacedaemonians, and especially 407 B.C.  
Thasos, which was in a bad state on account of wars and revolutions and famine. Thrasyllus finally, with the rest of the fleet, sailed home to Athens; but before he arrived, the Athenians had chosen as generals Alcibiades, who was still in exile, Thrasybulus, who was absent, and as a third, from among those at home, Conon. And now Alcibiades sailed from Samos with his twenty ships and his money to Paros, and from there directed his course straight to Gyttheium, in order to take a look at the thirty triremes which he heard the Lacedaemonians were making ready there and to see how his city felt toward him, with reference to his homecoming. And when he found that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that they had chosen him general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, he sailed in to Piraeus, arriving on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria<sup>1</sup> and the statue of Athena was veiled from sight,—a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business.

When he sailed in, the common crowd of Piraeus and of the city gathered to his ships, filled with wonder and desiring to see the famous Alcibiades. Some of them said that he was the best of the citizens; that he alone was banished without just cause, but rather because he was plotted against by those who had less power than he and spoke less well and ordered their political doings with a view

<sup>1</sup> When the clothing of the ancient wooden statue of Athena Polias was removed and washed (πλύνειν).



- αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου αἰεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
- 14 τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγεννημένης ὥς ἡσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτὸν
- 15 ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμνηχανίας δουλεύων ἡναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων αἰεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίῃ φυγῇ ἀπειργό-
- 16 μενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλεον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἷοιςπερ<sup>1</sup> πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίοισιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι.
- 17 Οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσοι<sup>2</sup> ἡγεμῶν καταστήναι.
- 18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς·

<sup>1</sup> τοιούτοις . . . οἷοιςπερ Morus : τοιούτος . . . οἷοιςπερ MSS. : τοιούτοις . . . οἷοις περιμένειν μὲν Kel.

<sup>2</sup> κινδυνεύσοι Blake : κινδυνεύσαι Kel. : κινδυνεῦσαι MSS.

to their own private gain, whereas he was always 407 B.C. advancing the common weal, both by his own means and by the power of the state. At the time in question,<sup>1</sup> they said, he was willing to be brought to trial at once, when the charge had just been made that he had committed sacrilege against the Eleusinian Mysteries; his enemies, however, postponed the trial, which was obviously his right, and then, when he was absent, robbed him of his fatherland; thereafter, in his exile, helpless as a slave and in danger of his life every day, he was forced to pay court to those whom he hated most<sup>2</sup>; and though he saw those who were dearest to him, his fellow-citizens and kinsmen and all Athens, making mistakes, he was debarred by his banishment from the opportunity of helping them. It was not the way, they said, of men such as he to desire revolution or a change in government; for under the democracy it had been his fortune to be not only superior to his contemporaries but also not inferior to his elders, while his enemies, on the other hand, were held in precisely the same low estimation after his banishment as before; later, however, when they had gained power, they had slain the best men, and since they alone were left, they were accepted by the citizens merely for the reason that better men were not available.

Others, however, said that Alcibiades alone was responsible for their past troubles, and as for the ills which threatened to befall the state, he alone would probably prove to be the prime cause of them.

Meanwhile Alcibiades, who had come to anchor close to the shore, did not at once disembark, through

<sup>1</sup> In 415 B.C., just before the departure of Alcibiades with the Syracusan expedition.

<sup>2</sup> The Spartans and the Persians.

- ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει  
 19 τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδεῖους, εἰ παρείησαν. κατιδὼν  
 δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ  
 ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους  
 μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 20 μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοιτο, μὴ  
 ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 ἀπολογησάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὥς  
 ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ  
 οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι αὐ  
 τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμὼν  
 αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς οἶός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν  
 τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον<sup>1</sup> μὲν τὰ μυστήρια  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν  
 πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἑξαγαγὼν τοὺς  
 21 στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο  
 στρατιάν, ὀπλίτας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους,  
 ἱππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν.  
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ'  
 Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ'  
 αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδεΐμαντος ὁ Λευ-  
 κολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡρημένοι κατὰ γῆν  
 στρατηγοί.  
 22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ στράτευμα τῆς  
 Ἀνδρίας χώρας<sup>2</sup> εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ  
 τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ  
 23 τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ  
 τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας

<sup>1</sup> πρότερον MSS.: πρῶτον Kel.

<sup>2</sup> χώρας MSS.: Kel. brackets,

fear of his enemies; but mounting upon the deck of his ship, he looked to see whether his friends were present. But when he sighted his cousin Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and his other relatives and with them his friends, then he disembarked and went up to the city, accompanied by a party who were prepared to quell any attack that anyone might make upon him. And after he had spoken in his own defence before the Senate and the Assembly, saying that he had not committed sacrilege and that he had been unjustly treated, and after more of the same sort had been said, with no one speaking in opposition because the Assembly would not have tolerated it, he was proclaimed general-in-chief with absolute authority, the people thinking that he was the man to recover for the state its former power; then, as his first act, he led out all his troops and conducted by land the procession<sup>1</sup> of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which the Athenians had been conducting by sea on account of the war; and after this he collected an armament of fifteen hundred hoplites, one hundred and fifty horsemen, and one hundred ships. Then, in the fourth month after his return to Athens, he set sail for Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians; and with him were sent Aristocrates and Adeimantus, the son of Leucolophides, the generals who had been chosen for service by land.

Alcibiades disembarked his army at Gaurium, in the territory of Andros; and when the men of Andros and the Laconians who were there came forth to meet him, the Athenians routed them, shut them up in their city, and killed some few of them. Accordingly Alcibiades set up a trophy, and after

<sup>1</sup> From Athens to the temple of Demeter at Eleusis.

ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κακείμενος ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

- V. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδα τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἐβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὐ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος
- 2 πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκῶς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον
- 3 γενέσθαι. Κῦρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσιν· ἔχων δὲ ἦκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπῃ, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὐ
- 4 ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπῆνον καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀνα-
- 5 λώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> The Attic drachma = about 9d. or 18 cents; it was the average wage of an ordinary day-labourer.

<sup>2</sup> Since the war would be brought to a speedy conclusion, the Athenian sailors going over to the Lacedaemonian fleet for the sake of the higher wage.



remaining there a few days, sailed to Samos, and 407 B.C. from Samos as a base prosecuted the war.

V. Not long before this the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as admiral, since Cratesippidas' term of office had expired. And after Lysander had arrived at Rhodes and secured some ships there, he sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from there to Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus arrived at Sardis. On his arrival Lysander went up to visit him, accompanied by the ambassadors from Lacedaemon. Then and there they told Cyrus of the deeds of which Tissaphernes had been guilty, and begged him to show the utmost zeal in the war. Cyrus replied that this was what his father had instructed him to do, and that he had no other intention himself, but would do everything possible; he had brought with him, he said, five hundred talents; if this amount should prove insufficient, he would use his own money, which his father had given him; and if this too should prove inadequate, he would go so far as to break up the throne whereon he sat, which was of silver and gold. The ambassadors thanked him, and urged him to make the wage of each sailor an Attic drachma<sup>1</sup> a day, explaining that if this were made the rate, the sailors of the Athenian fleet would desert their ships, and hence he would spend less money.<sup>2</sup> He replied that their plan was a good one, but that it was not possible for him to act contrary to the King's instructions; besides, the original compact ran in this way, that the King should give thirty minae<sup>3</sup> per month to

<sup>1</sup> A mina = 100 drachmae = 600 obols. A ship's crew normally numbered 200 men; hence 30 minae per month per ship = 3 obols per day per man.



- μηνὸς διδόναι, ὅποσας ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν  
6 Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώ-  
πησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιῶν  
ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν,  
εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστω ναύτῃ  
7 ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ  
ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ τριῷβολον. καὶ τὸν τε  
προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν,  
ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι.  
8 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτά ἀθύμως μὲν  
εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ  
9 Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου  
Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει  
πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οὔτινες ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες  
ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες.  
10 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν  
συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας  
ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ  
11 ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρα-  
σύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἤκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν  
Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ  
ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην,  
ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς.  
12 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ  
Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας  
παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρῶρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν  
13 παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας  
τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ

each ship, whatever number of ships the Lacedaemonians might wish to maintain. Lysander accordingly dropped the matter for the moment; but after dinner, when Cyrus drank his health and asked him by what act he could gratify him most, Lysander replied: "By adding an obol to the pay of each sailor." And from this time forth the wage was four obols, whereas it had previously been three. Cyrus also settled the arrears of pay and gave them a month's wage in advance besides, so that the men of the fleet were much more zealous. Now when the Athenians heard of this, they were despondent, and sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes. Cyrus, however, would not receive them, although Tissaphernes urged him to do so and advised him to see to it that no single Greek state should become strong, but that all be kept weak through constant quarrelling among themselves,—the policy he himself had followed on the advice of Alcibiades.<sup>1</sup>

As for Lysander, when he had finished organising his fleet, he hauled ashore the ships which were at Ephesus, now ninety in number, and kept quiet, while the ships were being dried out and repaired. Meantime Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had come out from the Hellespont and was investing Phocaea, sailed across to see him, leaving in command of the fleet Antiochus, the pilot of his own ship, with orders not to attack Lysander's ships. Antiochus, however, with his own ship and one other sailed from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus and coasted along past the very prows of Lysander's ships.<sup>2</sup> Lysander at first launched a few ships and pursued him, but when the Athenians came to the

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* Thuc. 8. 46.

<sup>2</sup> On this incident see Plutarch, *Alc.* 35.

- Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί,  
τότε δὴ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ  
ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύ-  
σαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὥς ἑκα-  
14 στος ἤνοιξεν.<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν  
ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς  
ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαί-  
δεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι  
ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τάς  
τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ  
Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι  
15 εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν  
εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν  
λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος  
παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν  
ἐλαττούσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ  
Ἡϊόνα.<sup>3</sup>
- 16 Οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ  
ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰό-  
μενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι  
τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα,  
Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα,<sup>4</sup> Περικλέα, Ἐρασι-  
νίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμα-  
17 χον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης  
μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος,  
λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον  
18 εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τεῖχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ: Kel. here assumes a lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> ἤνοιξεν MSS.: ἤνισεν Kel.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡϊόνα MSS.: Τέων Kel.

<sup>4</sup> Λέοντα MSS.: Λυσίαν Kel.

aid of Antiochus with more ships, he then formed into line of battle every ship he had and sailed against them. Thereupon the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium and set out, as each one got a clear course. From that moment they fell to fighting, the one side in good order, but the Athenians with their ships scattered, and fought until the Athenians took to flight, after losing fifteen triremes. As for the men upon them, the greater part escaped, but some were taken prisoners. Then Lysander, after taking possession of his prizes and setting up a trophy at Notium, sailed across to Ephesus, while the Athenians went to Samos. After this Alcibiades came to Samos, set sail with all his ships to the harbour of Ephesus, and formed the fleet in line at the mouth of the harbour as a challenge to battle, in case anyone cared to fight. But when Lysander did not sail out against him, because his fleet was considerably inferior in numbers, Alcibiades sailed back to Samos. And a little later the Lacedaemonians captured Delphinium and Eion.

When the Athenians at home got the news of the battle at Notium, they were angry with Alcibiades, thinking that he had lost the ships through neglect of duty and dissolute conduct, and they chose ten new generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Arcestratus, Protomachus, Thrasylus, and Aristogenes. So Alcibiades, who was in disfavour with the army as well, took a trireme and sailed away to his castle<sup>1</sup> in the Chersonese. After this Conon set sail from Andros, with

<sup>1</sup> Which he had constructed, says Plutarch (*Alc.* 36), to serve him as a place of refuge in case of possible trouble.

- τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἰς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισα-  
μένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν  
19 Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περι-  
τυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς  
ἀνδράσι καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας  
ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα,  
ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν  
καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐ-  
τοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολι-  
τεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλείσαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ  
20 χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν  
Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κατέλαβεν ἀθύ-  
μως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα  
ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ  
ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατη-  
γῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων  
χώρας ἐλήζετο.
- 21 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς  
Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριή-  
ρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἴλον  
Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶ, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσ-  
καθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.<sup>1</sup>
- VI. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἢ τε σελήνη ἐξέ-  
λιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς  
ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος,  
ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,<sup>2</sup> οἱ Λακεδαι-

<sup>1</sup> This paragraph is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on i. 37.

<sup>2</sup> ᾧ . . . Ἀθήνησιν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 1.

the twenty ships which he had, to Samos, there to 407 B.C.  
 assume command of the fleet in accordance with the  
 vote which the Athenians had passed. They also  
 sent Phanosthenes to Andros, with four ships, to  
 replace Conon. On the way Phanosthenes fell in  
 with two Thurian triremes and captured them,  
 crews and all; and the men who were thus taken  
 were all imprisoned by the Athenians, but their  
 commander, Dorieus, a Rhodian by birth, but some  
 time before exiled from both Athens and Rhodes by  
 the Athenians, who had condemned him and his  
 kinsmen to death, and now a citizen of Thurii, they  
 set free without even exacting a ransom, taking  
 pity upon him. When, meanwhile, Conon had  
 arrived at Samos, where he found the Athenian  
 fleet in a state of despondency, he manned with  
 full complements seventy triremes instead of the  
 former number, which was more than a hundred, and  
 setting out with this fleet, in company with the  
 other generals, landed here and there in the  
 enemy's territory and plundered it.

So the year ended, being the year in which the  
 Carthaginians made an expedition to Sicily with  
 one hundred and twenty triremes and an army of  
 one hundred and twenty thousand men, and although  
 defeated in battle, starved Acragas into submission  
 after besieging it for seven months.

VI. In the ensuing year—the year in which there 406 B.C.  
 was an eclipse of the moon one evening, and the old  
 temple<sup>1</sup> of Athena at Athens was burned, Pityas being  
 now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens—

<sup>1</sup> On the Acropolis. On its identity see D'Oogie, *Acropolis of Athens*, Appendix III.



μόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν  
 2 ἐτῶν<sup>1</sup> ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδόη καὶ ναυμαχία νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες,<sup>2</sup> ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττο-  
 3 κρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὔσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.  
 4 καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ<sup>3</sup> διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων<sup>4</sup> γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι ξυνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον εἶν<sup>5</sup> γιγνωσκόντων ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τέ<sup>6</sup> τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο· ἐκ τούτου δὲ<sup>7</sup> ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγ-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ . . . ἐτῶν is probably an interpolation. See crit. note on ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> οὗ . . . νῆες MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>3</sup> τῷ: Kel. inserts *δεῖ* after it.

<sup>4</sup> ἀντ' ἐπιτηδείων Jacobs: ἀνεπιτηδείων MSS., Kel.

<sup>5</sup> εἶν Cobet: οὐ MSS., Kel.

the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take command of the fleet, since Lysander's term of office had ended (and with it the twenty-fourth year of the war). And when Lysander delivered over the ships, he told Callicratidas that he did so as master of the sea and victor in battle. Callicratidas, however, bade him coast along from Ephesus on the left of Samos, where the Athenian ships were, and deliver over the fleet at Miletus; then, he said, he would grant him that he was master of the sea. But when Lysander replied that he would not meddle when another was commander, Callicratidas, left to himself, manned with sailors from Chios and Rhodes and other allied states fifty ships in addition to those which he had received from Lysander. And after assembling the entire fleet, a total of one hundred and forty ships, he prepared to meet the enemy. But when he found out that Lysander's friends were intriguing against him,—they not only rendered half-hearted service, but also spread the report in the cities that the Lacedaemonians made a serious mistake in changing their admirals; for in place of men who were proving themselves fit and were just coming to understand naval matters and knew well how to deal with men, they frequently sent out men who were unacquainted with the sea and unknown to the people near the seat of war; and there was danger, they said, of their meeting with disaster on this account,—after hearing of all this Callicratidas called together the

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<sup>6</sup> τε inserted by Laves: Kel. follows the MSS., but brackets ἀπελποῦς . . . τοῦτο. Other editors emend in various ways.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ MSS.: δὲ Kel.

καλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλε-  
γεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

- 5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος  
εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικά  
βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ'  
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω  
τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι  
κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμούμαι  
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ  
ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν  
δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ  
οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.
- 6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς  
οἶκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἤκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ  
Κῦρον ἦται μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε
- 7 δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθε-  
σθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας  
φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους  
εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύ-  
ουσιν ἔνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἴκαδε,  
κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους  
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον.
- 8 κακείθεν πέμψας τρίηρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ  
χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων  
τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἶκοι ἄρ-  
χουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἄξιῳ προθυμο-  
τάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν  
βαρβάροις πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπον-

Lacedaemonians who were there and addressed them 406 B.C.  
as follows :

"I, for my part, am content to stay at home, and if Lysander or anyone else professes to be more experienced in naval affairs, I will not stand in his way so far as I am concerned ; but it is I who have been sent by the state to command the fleet, and I cannot do otherwise than obey my orders to the best of my power. As for you, in view of the ambition which I cherish and the criticisms which our state incurs,—and you know them as well as I do,—give me whatever advice seems to you best on the question of my remaining here or sailing back home to report the conditions which exist here."

Since no one dared to propose anything else than that he should obey the authorities at home and do the work for which he had come, he went to Cyrus and asked for pay for the sailors ; Cyrus, however, told him to wait for two days. But Callicratidas, indignant at being thus put off and driven to anger by having to dance attendance at his gates, declaring that the Greeks were in a sorry plight, toadying to barbarians for the sake of money, and saying that if he reached home in safety he would do his best to reconcile the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, sailed away to Miletus ; and after despatching triremes from there to Lacedaemon to get money, he gathered the Milesians in assembly and spoke as follows :

"Upon me, men of Miletus, lies the necessity of obeying the authorities at home ; and as for you, I claim that you should show the utmost zeal in this war, because you dwell among barbarians and in the past have suffered very many

- ¶ θέναι. δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα  
 βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακε-  
 δαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξον-  
 10 τας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ  
 ἀποδοὺς ὥς περιττὰ ὄντα οἷχεται. Κῦρος δὲ  
 ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι  
 διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾷν  
 11 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. ὑπισχνούμαι δ'  
 ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ  
 χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν  
 ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς  
 βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν  
 δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.
- 12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ  
 μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες  
 εἰσηγούντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελ-  
 λόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ  
 Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστω τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδια-  
 σάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν
- ✕ 13 πολεμίαν οὔσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μη-  
 θυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ'<sup>2</sup> ἐμφρούρων ὄντων  
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττι-  
 κιζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
- 14 κράτος. τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν  
 οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνή-  
 θροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ  
 κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδοῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς  
 Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> δείξωμεν MSS. except V: δείξομεν V and Kel.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' MSS.: ἄτ' Kel.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδένα MSS.: οὐδέν' ἂν Kel.

ills at their hands. And you should as leaders 406 B.C. show the other allies how we may inflict the utmost harm upon the enemy in the shortest time, until the people return from Lacedaemon whom I have sent thither to get money; for the money which Lysander had on hand he gave back to Cyrus, as though it were unneeded surplus, and went his way; and as for Cyrus, whenever I visited him he invariably put off giving me an audience, and I could not bring myself to dance attendance at his gates. But I promise you that for whatever good results we achieve while we are waiting for the funds from Sparta I will make you an adequate return. Let us then, with the help of the gods, show the barbarians that even without paying court to them we can punish our enemies."

When he had said this, many arose, particularly those who were accused of opposing him, and in alarm proposed a grant of money, offering private contributions as well. And taking this money and supplying from Chios a payment of five drachmae apiece for his seamen, he sailed against Methymna, in Lesbos, which was hostile. And when the Methymnaeans refused to surrender,—for there was an Athenian garrison in the place and those who had control of the government were partisans of Athens,—Callicratidas attacked the city and captured it by storm. All the property which it contained the soldiers seized as booty, but all the captives Callicratidas assembled in the market-place; and when his allies urged him to sell into slavery the Methymnaeans as well as the Athenians, he said that while



- Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν<sup>1</sup> ἀνδραποδι-  
 15 σθῆναι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους  
 ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ  
 ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο. Κόνωνι δὲ  
 εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν.  
 κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
 ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν,  
 16 ὅπως μὴ ἐκείσε φύγοι.<sup>2</sup> Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς  
 ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρω-  
 μάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέ-  
 τας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου  
 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων<sup>3</sup> καὶ  
 Ἑρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν  
 εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδο-  
 17 μήκοιτα. Κόνων δὲ ὥς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
 κατακωλυθεῖς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ  
 λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες  
 εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν,  
 τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε.  
 18 Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπο-  
 λιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἑκπλοῦν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ  
 γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεῖ  
 καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρή-  
 ματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.  
 19 Ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν  
 καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν

<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν Dindorf: εἰς τὸ κείνου (or 'κείνου)  
 δυνατόν MSS. Kel. follows the MS. reading, but brackets  
 the phrase.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπως . . . φύγοι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Λέων MSS.: Kel. regards the reading as corrupt. See  
 on v. 16.

he was commander no Greek should be enslaved if 406 B.C.  
 he could help it. Accordingly on the next day he let the Methymnaeans go free, but sold the members of the Athenian garrison<sup>1</sup> and such of the captives as were slaves; then he sent word to Conon that he would put a stop to his playing the wanton with his bride, the sea. And when he caught sight of Conon putting out to sea at daybreak, he pursued him, aiming to cut off his course to Samos, so that he could not direct his flight thither. Conon's ships, however, made good speed as he fled, because the best oarsmen had been picked out of a great many crews and assembled in a few; in the end he sought refuge in the harbour of Mytilene, in Lesbos, and with him two more of the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. But Callicratidas, pursuing with one hundred and seventy ships, sailed into the harbour simultaneously. And Conon, thwarted in his plan by the enemy's swiftness, was forced to give battle at the mouth of the harbour and lost thirty ships; their crews, however, escaped to the land; and the remainder of his ships, forty in number, he drew up on shore under the wall of the city. Thereupon Callicratidas anchored in the harbour and blockaded him on that side, holding the outlet to the sea. As for the land side, he summoned the Methymnaeans to come to his aid with their entire force and brought over his army from Chios; and money came to him from Cyrus.

When Conon found himself blockaded both by land and by sea, and was unable to procure provisions

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Callicratidas agrees with his allies in regarding the sale of the *Athenians* as a matter of course. What he objected to was the enslaving of the inhabitants of captured towns which had chanced to be in possession of the Athenians.

- εὐπορήσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναὺν μεταβιβάσας
- 20 καὶ τὰ παράρύματα παραβαλὼν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνείχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιούντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγῶως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς
- 21 τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ' ἐφορμούντων ὥς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον,<sup>1</sup> τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι,<sup>2</sup> ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς
- 22 ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναὺς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὠρμίσατο
- 23 εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ.

<sup>1</sup> ἤνοιγον MSS.: ἤνυτον Kel.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγειρόμενοι MSS.: ἐπειγόμενοι Kel.

from anywhere,—and the people in the city were many, and the Athenians could not come to his aid because they had not learned of these events,—he launched two of his fastest ships and manned them before daybreak, picking out the best oarsmen from his whole fleet, shifting the marines to the hold of the ships, and setting up the side screens.<sup>1</sup> They continued in this way through the day, but each evening he had them disembark when darkness came on, so that the enemy might not perceive that they were so doing. On the fifth day they put on board a moderate quantity of provisions, and when it came to be midday and the blockaders were careless and some of them asleep, they rowed out of the harbour, and one of the ships set out for the Hellespont and the other to the open sea. And the blockaders, as they severally got their ships clear of one another, cutting away their anchors and rousing themselves from sleep, hastened to the pursuit in confusion, for it chanced that they had been breakfasting on the shore; and when they had embarked, they pursued the vessel which had made for the open sea, and at sunset they overhauled her and, after capturing her in battle, took her in tow and brought her back, men and all, to their fleet. But the ship which fled toward the Hellespont escaped, and on its arrival at Athens reported the blockade. Meanwhile Diomedon, seeking to aid Conon, blockaded as he was, anchored with twelve ships in the strait of Mytilene. Callicratidas, however, sailed down upon him suddenly and captured ten of his ships, Diomedon escaping with his own ship and one other.

<sup>1</sup> Temporary screens set up along the bulwarks, ordinarily serving for protection against missiles, here for concealment.

- 24 Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολι-  
 ορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ  
 ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ  
 πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα  
 ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων  
 25 πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κα-  
 κεῖθεν Σαμίας ναὺς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας,  
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι.  
 ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ  
 26 ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοή-  
 θειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε  
 πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς  
 δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο  
 27 τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ.<sup>1</sup> τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιούμενοι  
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις. αὗται δ' εἰσὶν<sup>2</sup> ἀντίον τῆς  
 28 Μυτιλήνης. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καί  
 τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν,  
 ἀνῆγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὥς ἐξαπιναίως προσ-  
 πέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ  
 διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.  
 29 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης : Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. proceed ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ :  
 Kel. brackets.

When the Athenians heard of what had happened 400 B.C. and of the blockade, they voted to go to the rescue with one hundred and ten ships, putting aboard all who were of military age, whether slave<sup>1</sup> or free; and within thirty days they manned the one hundred and ten ships and set forth. Even the knights<sup>2</sup> went aboard in considerable numbers. After this they sailed to Samos and from there got ten Samian ships; they collected also more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, forcing everybody to embark, and in like manner whatever Athenian ships happened to be abroad. And the total number of the ships came to more than one hundred and fifty. Now Callicratidas, when he heard that the relief expedition was already at Samos, left behind him at Mytilene fifty ships with Eteonicus as commander, and setting sail with the remaining one hundred and twenty, took dinner at Cape Malea in Lesbos. On the same day it chanced that the Athenians took dinner on the Arginusae islands. These lie opposite Mytilene.<sup>3</sup> And when Callicratidas saw their fires during the night and people reported to him that it was the Athenians, he proposed to put to sea at about midnight, in order to attack them unexpectedly; but a heavy rain coming on, with thunder, prevented the setting out. And when it ceased, he sailed at daybreak for the Arginusae.

The Athenians stood out to meet him, extending their left wing out to sea and arranged in the

<sup>1</sup> It was only in rare cases that the Athenians employed slaves for military service.

<sup>2</sup> Who were ordinarily exempt from service at sea.

<sup>3</sup> That is, between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.



- εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης  
 μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί,  
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἑτέrais πεντεκαίδεκα·  
 ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διο-  
 μέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ  
 Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρα-  
 τήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἴππεύς· ἐχόμεναι  
 δὲ αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷς·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ-  
 30 τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας  
 Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ'  
 αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἑτέrais πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέ-  
 τακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς  
 31 ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης. οὕτω δ'  
 ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χειρὸν γὰρ  
 ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι  
 ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾷς ὥς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ  
 περίπλουν παρεσκευασμένοι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον  
 πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.  
 32 Ἐρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ κυβερ-  
 νῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀπο-  
 πλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῶ  
 πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ  
 Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ ἀπο-  
 θανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχροὺς ἔφη εἶναι.  
 33 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν,

<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται Blake : οὐ δέος μὴ κάκιον οἰκῆται  
 Kel. : οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκείται MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Ten taxiarchs, one for each Athenian tribe, commanded  
 the contingents (τάξεις) furnished by their several tribes.

<sup>2</sup> Manifestly subordinate officers, but the precise meaning  
 of the title in the Athenian navy is unknown.

following order: Aristocrates, in command of the 406 B.C. left wing, led the way with fifteen ships, and next in order Diomedon with fifteen more; and Pericles was stationed behind Aristocrates and Erasinides behind Diomedon; and beside Diomedon were the Samians with ten ships, drawn up in single line; and their commander was a Samian named Hippeus; and next to them were the ten ships of the taxiarchs,<sup>1</sup> also in single line; and behind these the three ships of the nauarchs<sup>2</sup> and also some ships from the allies; and the right wing was under the command of Protomachus, with fifteen ships; and beside him was Thrasyllus with fifteen more; and Lysias, with the same number of ships, was stationed behind Protomachus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. The ships were arranged in this way so as not to give the enemy a chance of breaking through<sup>3</sup> the line; for the Athenians were inferior in seamanship. But all the vessels of the Lacedaemonians were arranged in single line, with a view to breaking through the enemy and circling<sup>3</sup> round him, inasmuch as they had superior seamen. And Callicratidas was on the right wing. Now Hermon the Megarian, the pilot of Callicratidas' ship, said to him that it was well to sail away; for the triremes of the Athenians were far more numerous. Callicratidas, however, said that Sparta would fare none the worse if he were killed, but flight, he said, would be a disgrace.

After this they fell to fighting, and fought for a

<sup>3</sup> The *διέκπλους* consisted in driving at full speed between two ships of the enemy's line,—breaking oars and inflicting any other possible damage on the way,—and then turning to attack the sterns or sides of the hostile ships. In the *περίπλους* the same object was accomplished by rowing around the end of the enemy's line.

- πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμένοι.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεῶς  
 ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτό-  
 μαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον  
 ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων  
 ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν·  
 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέ-  
 34 πλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες  
 πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων  
 τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελο-  
 ποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν  
 οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ  
 35 ἐξήκοντα. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ  
 Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους  
 ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς  
 καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ  
 Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους  
 ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμὼν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς  
 μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ  
 ἠϋλίζοντο.  
 36 Τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλῃς πάντα  
 ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν  
 πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκ-  
 πλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ  
 αὐθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἑστε-  
 φανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας  
 νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 37 νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ'  
 ἐποιοῦν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε

<sup>1</sup> πλείστων δὲ MSS.: πλείστων, τινῶν δὲ Kel.

long time, their ships at first in close order and afterwards scattered. But when Callicratidas, as his ship rammed an enemy, fell overboard into the sea and disappeared, and Protomachus and those with him on the right wing defeated the opposing Lacedaemonian left, then began a flight of the Peloponnesians to Chios, though very many went to Phocaea; while the Athenians sailed back to the Arginusae. The loss on the Athenian side was twenty-five ships, crews and all, with the exception of a few men who were brought to shore, and on the Peloponnesian side nine Laconian ships, out of a total of ten, and more than sixty ships of the allies. After this victory it was resolved by the Athenian generals that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who were ship-captains, and some of the taxiarchs, should sail with forty-seven ships to the aid of the disabled vessels and the men on board them, while they themselves went with the rest of the fleet to attack the ships under Eteonicus which were blockading Mytilene. But despite their desire to carry out these measures, the wind and a heavy storm which came on prevented them; accordingly, after setting up a trophy, they bivouacked where they were.

As for Eteonicus, the dispatch-boat reported to him the whole story of the battle. He, however, sent the boat out again, telling those who were in it to sail out of the harbour in silence and not talk with anyone, and then to sail back immediately to his fleet, wearing garlands and shouting that Callicratidas had been victorious in battle and that all the ships of the Athenians had been destroyed. This they proceeded to do; and when they were sailing in,

τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε  
 δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα  
 σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον  
 (ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν  
 38 ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν  
 Μήθυμναν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων  
 δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι  
 ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαν-  
 τήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν  
 Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ  
 δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην,  
 ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν  
 διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμον.

VII. Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ  
 εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν  
 δὲ ναυμαχισάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν  
 καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν  
 2 δὲ ἕξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέ-  
 δοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρα-  
 σύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου  
 τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας  
 ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν  
 κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἕξ Ἑλλησπόν-  
 του αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατη-  
 γόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ  
 3 δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην. μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ



Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, 401 B.C.  
Theognis, Aeschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Pheidon, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesitheides. When this had been done, Lysander sailed off to Samos, while Agis withdrew the land force from Decelea and dismissed the several contingents to their cities.

It was near this date, and at about the time of an eclipse of the sun, that Lycophron of Pherae, who wanted to make himself ruler of all Thessaly, defeated in battle those among the Thessalians who opposed him, namely the Larisaeans and others, and slew many of them.

It was at the same time also that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, was defeated in battle by the Carthaginians and lost Gela and Camarina. Shortly afterwards also the Leontines, who had been dwelling at Syracuse, revolted from Dionysius and the Syracusans and returned to their own city. And immediately thereafter the Syracusan horsemen were despatched by Dionysius to Catana.

Meanwhile the Samians were being besieged by Lysander on every side, and when, seeing that at first they refused to come to terms, he was on the point of making an attack upon them, they came to an agreement with him that every free person should depart from the city with but one cloak and that all else should be surrendered; and on these terms they withdrew. And Lysander gave over the city and everything therein to the former citizens, and appointed ten rulers to guard it; then he dismissed



- ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις,  
 8 ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακε-  
 δαίμονα, ἀπάγων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν  
 ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν  
 δώδεκα<sup>1</sup> καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων  
 ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδία, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια  
 καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγέγοντο τῶν  
 φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κύρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλε-  
 μον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.  
 9 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευ-  
 τῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὃ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ  
 εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ  
 ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ'  
 οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει  
 τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπον-  
 10 δῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἷδε· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ,  
 Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγε-  
 νίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλει-  
 στόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας,  
 Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος,  
 Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας,  
 Ἀρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρ-  
 χύτας, Ἐνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ  
 εἰρημένα οἵκαδε κατέπλευσεν.<sup>2</sup>
- 11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ  
 μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη·  
 αἵρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ'  
 οὓστινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον  
 συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πλὴν δώδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς δ . . . κατέπλευσεν is probably an interpolation. See  
 crit. note on I. ii. 1.

the naval contingents of the allies to their several cities and sailed home with the Laconian ships to Lacedaemon, taking with him the prows of the captured ships, the triremes from Piraeus except twelve, the crowns which he had received from the cities as gifts to himself individually, four hundred and seventy talents in money, being the balance that remained of the tribute money which Cyrus had assigned to him for the prosecution of the war, and whatever else he had obtained during the course of the war. All these things he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians at the close of the summer—with which ended the twenty-eight years and six months of the war, during which years the eponymous ephors were the following: Aenesias first, in whose term the war began, in the fifteenth year of the thirty years' truce which followed the conquest of Euboea, and after him the following: Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Exarchus, Agesistratus, Angelidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chaerilas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus, Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaïdas, Isias, Aracus, Euarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Endius; it was in Endius' term that Lysander sailed home after performing the deeds above described.

Now at Athens the Thirty had been chosen as soon as the long walls and the walls round Piraeus were demolished; although chosen, however, for the purpose of framing a constitution under which to conduct the government, they continually delayed framing and publishing this constitution, but they appointed a Senate and the

- τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.
- 12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὖς πάντες ἤδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπὴγον θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς
- 13 μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέ-
- 14 ψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἄρμοστὴν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὖς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὖς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.
- 15 Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέ-

other magistrates as they saw fit. Then, as a first 404 B.C.  
 step, they arrested and brought to trial for their lives those persons who, by common knowledge, had made a living in the time of the democracy by acting as informers and had been offensive to the aristocrats; and the Senate was glad to pronounce these people guilty, and the rest of the citizens—at least all who were conscious that they were not of the same sort themselves—were not at all displeased. When, however, the Thirty began to consider how they might become free to do just as they pleased with the state, their first act was to send Aeschines and Aristoteles to Lacedaemon and persuade Lysander to help them to secure the sending of a Lacedaemonian garrison, to remain until, as they said, they could put “the scoundrels” out of the way and establish their government; and they promised to maintain this garrison at their own charges. Lysander consented, and helped them to secure the dispatch of the troops and of Callibius as governor. But when they had got the garrison, they paid court to Callibius in every way, in order that he might approve of everything they did, and as he detailed guardsmen to go with them, they arrested the people whom they wished to reach,—not now “the scoundrels” and persons of little account, but from this time forth the men who, they thought, were least likely to submit to being ignored, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers.

Now in the beginning Critias and Theramenes were agreed in their policy and friendly; but when Critias showed himself eager to put many to death, because, for one thing, he had been banished by the

κοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις  
 ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καγαθοὺς  
 μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ  
 16 πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπο-  
 μεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο  
 τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς  
 πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖ-  
 σθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ δέ, ὅτι  
 τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει ὥσπερ<sup>1</sup>  
 τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖ-  
 17 σθαι, εὐθήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν  
 καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε  
 καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν  
 ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκα-  
 νοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο  
 18 τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι  
 Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἡδὴ φοβούμενοι  
 καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυσείησαν  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους  
 19 τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ  
 Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον  
 δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν<sup>2</sup> βουλο-  
 μένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς  
 ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους,<sup>3</sup> ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς  
 εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὐτ' ἐντὸς

<sup>1</sup> οἶει ὥσπερ MSS.: οἶει ἢ ὥσπερ Kel.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ πρῶτον μὲν MSS.: πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Kel.

<sup>3</sup> τρισχιλίους MSS.: τρισχιλίους καταλέξει Kel.



democracy, Theramenes opposed him, saying that it 404 B.C.  
 was not reasonable to put a man to death because  
 he was honoured by the commons, provided he was  
 doing no harm to the aristocrats. "For," said he,  
 "you and I also have said and done many things  
 for the sake of winning the favour of the city."  
 Then Critias (for he still treated Theramenes as a  
 friend) replied that it was impossible for people who  
 wanted to gain power not to put out of the way  
 those who were best able to thwart them. "But  
 if," he said, "merely because we are thirty and not  
 one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for  
 us to keep a close watch over this government, just  
 as one would if it were an absolute monarchy, you  
 are foolish." But when, on account of the great  
 numbers continually—and unjustly—put to death,  
 it was evident that many were banding together  
 and wondering what the state was coming to,  
 Theramenes spoke again, saying that unless they  
 admitted an adequate number of citizens into  
 partnership with them in the management of affairs,  
 it would be impossible for the oligarchy to endure.  
 Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, who  
 were by this time alarmed and feared above all that  
 the citizens would flock to the support of Thera-  
 menes, enrolled a body of three thousand, who were  
 to share, as they said, in the government. Thera-  
 menes, however, objected to this move also, saying  
 that, in the first place, it seemed to him absurd that,  
 when they wanted to make the best of the citizens  
 their associates, they should limit themselves to  
 three thousand, as though this number must some-  
 how be good men and true and there could neither



τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· Ἐπειτα δ',  
 ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράτ-  
 τουτας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν  
 ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.

- 20 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαν-  
 τες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω  
 τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύ-  
 σαντες θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα,<sup>1</sup> ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύ-  
θεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν  
 τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων πλὴν  
 τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλυντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες  
 ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.
- 21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς  
 ὅ τι βούλυντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέ-  
 κτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς,  
 ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι,  
 καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀπο-
- 22 σημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην  
 λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ'  
 οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελ-  
 τίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν.  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν  
 εἶων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,  
 ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ
- 23 παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδὼν νομίζον-  
 τες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλυντο, ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα Kan: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα MSS., which Kel.  
 retains, though doubtfully.

be excellent men outside this body nor rascals within it. "Besides," he said, "we are undertaking, in my opinion, two absolutely inconsistent things,—to rig up our government on the basis of force and at the same time to make it weaker than its subjects." 404 B.C.

This was what Theramenes said. As for the Thirty, they held a review, the Three Thousand assembling in the market-place and those who were not on "the roll" in various places here and there; then they gave the order to pile arms, and while the men were off duty and away, they sent their Lacedaemonian guardsmen and such citizens as were in sympathy with them, seized the arms of all except the Three Thousand, carried them up to the Acropolis, and deposited them in the temple. And now, when this had been accomplished, thinking that they were at length free to do whatever they pleased, they put many people to death out of personal enmity, and many also for the sake of securing their property. One measure that they resolved upon, in order to get money to pay their guardsmen, was that each of their number should seize one of the aliens residing in the city, and that they should put these men to death and confiscate their property. So they bade Theramenes also to seize anyone he pleased; and he replied: "But it is not honourable, as it seems to me," he said, "for people who style themselves the best citizens to commit acts of greater injustice than the informers used to do. For they allowed those from whom they got money, to live; but shall we, in order to get money, put to death men who are guilty of no wrong-doing? Are not such acts altogether more unjust than theirs were?" Then the Thirty, thinking that Theramenes was an obstacle to

βουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν  
 24 βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Ὡ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν  
 25 δῆμον τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε  
 26 τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι.

27 Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτουὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ

their doing whatever they pleased, plotted against him, and kept accusing him to individual senators, one to one man and another to another, of injuring the government. And after passing the word to some young men, who seemed to them most audacious, to be in attendance with daggers hidden under their arms, they convened the Senate. Then when Theramenes arrived, Critias arose and spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate, if anyone among you thinks that more people than is fitting are being put to death, let him reflect that where governments are changed these things always take place; and it is inevitable that those who are changing the government here to an oligarchy should have most numerous enemies, both because the state is the most populous of the Greek states and because the commons have been bred up in a condition of freedom for the longest time. Now we, believing that for men like ourselves and you democracy is a grievous form of government, and convinced that the commons would never become friendly to the Lacedaemonians, our preservers, while the aristocrats would continue ever faithful to them, for these reasons are establishing, with the approval of the Lacedaemonians, the present form of government. And if we find anyone opposed to the oligarchy, so far as we have the power we put him out of the way; but in particular we consider it to be right that, if any one of our own number is harming this order of things, he should be punished. —

"Now in fact we find this man Theramenes trying, by what means he can, to destroy both ourselves and you. As proof that this is true you will discover, if

- ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε  
 ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ  
 παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν  
 βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν  
 τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν  
 ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο.  
 28 νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου  
 καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς  
 πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι,  
 νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ  
 δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέ-  
 σκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ,  
 29 ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ  
 μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς  
 προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην.  
 καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσίᾳ πολέμου,  
ὅσω χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ  
φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσω πολεμίοις μὲν  
 ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὐθις πιστοὶ γί-  
 γνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ  
 οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε  
 τοῦ λοιποῦ.  
 30 Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ,  
 ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ  
 τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώ-  
 μενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγωνα,  
προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μετα-



you consider the matter, that no one finds more 404 B.C.  
 fault with the present proceedings than Theramenes here, or offers more opposition when we wish to put some demagogue out of the way. Now if he had held these views from the beginning, he was, to be sure, an enemy, but nevertheless he would not justly be deemed a scoundrel. In fact, however, he was the very man who took the initiative in the policy of establishing a cordial understanding with the Lacedaemonians; he was the very man who began the overthrow of the democracy, and who urged you most to inflict punishment upon those who were first brought before you for trial; but now, when you and we have manifestly become hateful to the democrats, he no longer approves of what is going on,—just so that *he* may get on the safe side again, and that *we* may be punished for what has been done. Therefore he ought to be punished, not merely as an enemy, but also as a traitor both to you and to ourselves. And treason is a far more dreadful thing than war, inasmuch as it is harder to take precaution against the hidden than against the open danger, and a far more hateful thing, inasmuch as men make peace with enemies and become their trustful friends again, but if they catch a man playing the traitor, they never in any case make peace with that man or trust him thereafter.

“Now to let you know that this man’s present doings are nothing new, but that he is, rather, a traitor by nature, I will recall to you his past deeds. This man in the beginning, although he had received honours at the hands of the democracy, was extremely eager, like his father Hagnon, to change the democracy into the oligarchy of the Four Hundred,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note on I. vii. 28.



- στήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν  
ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλι-  
γαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ  
ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος  
31 ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν  
τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ'  
ἀμφοτέρων.<sup>1</sup> δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον  
ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα  
τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθύς μετα-  
βάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως  
ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφί-  
κοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ,  
32 εὐθύς εἰς τὰναντία πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου  
πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ  
διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος  
εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι,  
πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων.  
οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελεῖσθαι ὑπὸ  
τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν  
τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος  
ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐ-  
τούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ.
- 33 "Ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεον-  
εκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν  
φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε  
φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ . . . ἀμφοτέρων MSS. : Kel. brackets.

and he was a leader in that government. When, 404 B.C.  
 however, he perceived that some opposition to the  
 oligarchy was gathering, he took the lead again—as  
 champion of the democrats against the oligarchs!  
 That is the reason, you know, why he is nicknamed  
 ‘Buskin’: for as the buskin seems to fit both feet,  
 so he faces both ways. But, Theramenes, the man  
 who deserves to live ought not to be clever at lead-  
 ing his comrades into dangerous undertakings and  
 then, if any hindrance offers itself, to turn around on  
 the instant, but he ought, as one on shipboard, to  
 hold to his task until they come into a fair breeze.  
 Otherwise, how in the world would sailors reach the  
 port for which they are bound, if they should sail in  
 the opposite direction the moment any hindrance  
 offered itself? It is true, of course, that all sorts of  
 changes in government are attended by loss of life,  
 but you, thanks to your changing sides so easily,  
 share the responsibility, not merely for the slaughter  
 of a large number of oligarchs by the commons, but  
 also for the slaughter of a large number of democrats  
 by the aristocracy. And this Theramenes, you re-  
 member, was the man who, although detailed by the  
 generals to pick up the Athenians whose ships were  
 disabled in the battle off Lesbos,<sup>1</sup> failed to do so,  
 and nevertheless was the very one who accused the  
 generals and brought about their death in order that  
 he might save his own life!

“Now when a man clearly shows that he is always  
 looking out for his own advantage and taking no  
 thought for honour or his friends, how in the world  
 can it be right to spare him? Ought we not surely,  
 knowing of his previous changes, to take care that

<sup>1</sup> See I. vi. 35, vii. 4 ff.

- τὰς μεταβολάς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ  
ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπι-  
βουλεύοντα καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.
- 34 ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλ-  
λίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ  
Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ<sup>1</sup> ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν  
ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν  
τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις,  
οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων  
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης  
τιμωρίας ἀξιοθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε,  
οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὥς οὗτος  
σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσκει  
τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ  
πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι  
ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.
- 35 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ  
ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι,  
ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ  
με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτείνειν κατηγοροῦντα.  
ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ'  
ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐκ  
ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον  
ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ τὸν  
χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι, ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς  
ἄνδρας δυνατόν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν,  
ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φά-  
σκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,

<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖ Dindorf: ἐκείνη Kel. with MSS.

he shall not be able to do the same thing to us also? 404 B.C.  
 We therefore arraign him on the charge of plotting against and betraying both ourselves and you. And in proof that what we are thus doing is proper, consider this fact also. The constitution of the Lacedaemonians is, we know, deemed the best of all constitutions. Now in Lacedaemon if one of the ephors should undertake to find fault with the government and to oppose what was being done instead of yielding to the majority, do you not suppose that he would be regarded, not only by the ephors themselves but also by all the rest of the state, as having merited the severest punishment? Even so you, if you are wise, will not spare this Theramenes, but rather yourselves; for to leave him alive would cause many of those who hold opposite views to yours to cherish high thoughts, while to destroy him would cut off the hopes of them all, both within and without the city."

When Critias had so spoken, he sat down; and Theramenes rose and said: "I will mention first, gentlemen, the last thing Critias said against me. He says that I brought about the death of the generals by my accusation. But it was not I, as you know, who began the matter by accusing them; on the contrary, it was they who accused me, by stating that although that duty was assigned me by them, I failed to pick up the unfortunates in the battle off Lesbos. I said in my defence that on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much less to pick up the men, and it was decided by the state that my plea was a reasonable one, while the generals were clearly accusing themselves. For though they said it was possible to save the men,

προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο.  
 36 οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενο-  
 κέναι.<sup>1</sup> ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρῶν ἐτύγχανεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλία μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν  
 κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 37 δεσπότας. ὦν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν  
 ἐνθάδε γένοιτο.

Τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς  
 μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβου-  
 λεύοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς  
 μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι  
 ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα  
 κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει  
 38 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν  
 τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι εἰς τὴν βουλευίαν καὶ  
 ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως  
 συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτ' ἐγινώ-  
 σκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς  
 τε κάγαθούς συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καγὼ  
 39 ἤρξάμην τ' ἀναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν. ἦδειν γὰρ  
 ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου,  
 ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι,  
 ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἓν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται,  
 φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται·  
 ἐγίνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου  
 τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δη-  
 μοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος,  
 40 οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσονται. ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρεί-

<sup>1</sup> παρανενοκέναι Wolf: παρανενομηκέναι MSS.; παρανενο-  
 μικέναι Kel.



they nevertheless sailed away and left them to perish. I do not wonder, however, that Critias has misunderstood the matter; for when these events took place, it chanced that he was not here; he was establishing a democracy in Thessaly along with Prometheus, and arming the serfs against their masters. God forbid that any of the things which he was doing there should come to pass here. 404 B.C.

"I quite agree with him, however, on this point, that if anyone is desirous of deposing you from your office and is making strong those who are plotting against you, it is just for him to incur the severest punishment. But I think you can best judge who it is that is doing this, if you will consider the course which each of us two has taken and is now taking. Well then, up to the time when you became members of the Senate and magistrates were appointed and the notorious informers were brought to trial, all of us held the same views; but when these Thirty began to arrest men of worth and standing, then I, on my side, began to hold views opposed to theirs. For when Leon the Salaminian was put to death,—a man of capacity, both actually and by repute,—although he was not guilty of a single act of wrong-doing, I knew that those who were like him would be fearful, and, being fearful, would be enemies of this government. I also knew, when Niceratus, the son of Nicias, was arrested,—a man of wealth who, like his father, had never done anything to curry popular favour,—that those who were like him would become hostile to us. And further, when Antiphon, who during the war supplied from his own means two fast-sailing triremes, was put to death by



χετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ

- 41 πολιτεία ἔσονται. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου ἔνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι
- 42 χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσκειν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δ' ἡγείσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται.

- 43 Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὦ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν,

us, I knew that all those who had been zealous in the state's cause would look upon us with suspicion. I objected, also, when they said that each of us must seize one of the resident aliens; for it was entirely clear that if these men were put to death, the whole body of such aliens would become enemies of the government. I objected likewise when they took away from the people their arms, because I thought that we ought not to make the state weak; for I saw that, in preserving us, the purpose of the Lacedaemonians had not been that we might become few in number and unable to do them any service; for if this had been what they desired, it was within their power, by keeping up the pressure of famine a little while longer, to leave not a single man alive. Again, the hiring of guardsmen did not please me, for we might have enlisted in our service an equal number of our own citizens, until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of our subjects. And further, when I saw that many in the city were becoming hostile to this government and that many were becoming exiles, it did not seem to me best to banish either Thrasybulus or Anytus or Alcibiades; for I knew that by such measures the opposition would be made strong, if once the commons should acquire capable leaders and if those who wished to be leaders should find a multitude of supporters.

"Now would the man who offers openly this sort of admonition be fairly regarded as a well-wisher, or as a traitor? It is not, Critias, the men who prevent one's making enemies in abundance nor the men who teach one how to gain allies in the greatest numbers,—it is not these, I say, who make one's

- ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους
- 44 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἢ ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.
- 45 ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἶμι οἷος αἰεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ
- 46 πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;
- 47 Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι

enemies strong; but it is much rather those who unjustly rob others of property and put to death people who are guilty of no wrong, who, I say, make their opponents numerous and betray not only their friends but also themselves, and all to satisfy their covetousness. And if it is not evident in any other way that what I say is true, look at the matter in this way: do you suppose that Thrasybulus and Anytus and the other exiles would prefer to have us follow here the policy which I am urging by word, or the policy which these men are carrying out in deed? For my part, I fancy that now they believe every spot is full of allies, while if the best element in the state were friendly to us, they would count it difficult even to set foot anywhere in the land! Again, as to his statement that I have a propensity to be always changing sides, consider these facts also: it was the people itself, as everybody knows, which voted for the government of the Four Hundred, being advised that the Lacedaemonians would trust any form of government sooner than a democracy. But when the Lacedaemonians ~~did not~~ in the least relax their efforts in prosecuting the war, and Aristoteles, Melanthius, Aristarchus, and their fellow-generals were found to be building a fort on the peninsula,<sup>1</sup> into which they proposed to admit the enemy and so bring the state under the control of themselves and their oligarchical associates,—if I perceived this plan and thwarted it, is that being a traitor to one's friends?

"He dubs me 'Buskin,' because, as he says, I try to fit both parties. But for the man who pleases neither party,—what in the name of the gods should

<sup>1</sup> Commanding the harbour of Piræus.

- χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων  
μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ  
48 πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ  
Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ  
πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι,  
πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν  
ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ  
γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οἷ οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν  
ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων  
τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι  
σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπί-  
δων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν  
ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.  
49 εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς  
δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε καὶ γα-  
θοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν  
γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον  
πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώ-  
τατα<sup>1</sup> παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.
- 50 Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ  
δήλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ  
Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι  
περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξαιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν  
ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεῖς τι τοῖς  
τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς  
τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἐσχατώτατα BCFM : ἔσχατα Kel. with V.



we call him? For you in the days of the democracy 404 B.C.  
 were regarded as the bitterest of all haters of the  
 commons, and under the aristocracy you have  
 shown yourself the bitterest of all haters of the  
 better classes. But I, Critias, am forever at war  
 with the men who do not think there could be a  
 good democracy until the slaves and those who would  
 sell the state for lack of a shilling should share in  
 the government, and on the other hand I am forever  
 an enemy to those who do not think that a good  
 oligarchy could be established until they should  
 bring the state to the point of being ruled absolutely  
 by a few. But to direct the government in company  
 with those who have the means to be of service,  
 whether with horses or with shields,<sup>1</sup>—this plan I  
 regarded as best in former days and I do not change  
 my opinion now. (And if you can mention any  
 instance, Critias, where I joined hands with dema-  
 gogues or despots and undertook to deprive men of  
 standing of their citizenship, then speak. For if I  
 am found guilty either of doing this thing now or of  
 ever having done it in the past, I admit that I should  
 justly suffer the very uttermost of all penalties and  
 be put to death.)

When with these words he ceased speaking and  
 the Senate had shown its good will by applause,  
 Critias, realizing that if he should allow the Senate  
 to pass judgment on the case, Theramenes would  
 escape, and thinking that this would be unendurable,  
 went and held a brief consultation with the Thirty,  
 and then went out and ordered the men with the  
 daggers to take their stand at the railing<sup>2</sup> in plain

<sup>1</sup> i.e. could equip themselves at their own expense as  
 horsemen or (μετ' ἄσπιδων) as hoplites.

<sup>2</sup> Separating the Senate from the auditorium.



## XENOPHON

- 51 δρυφάκτοις. πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλῇ, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρώων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.
- 52 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον
- 53 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνωῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ καγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλει-
- 54 πτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. | ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ

sight of the Senate. Then he came in again and said : " Senators, I deem it the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be, in case he sees that his friends are being deceived, not to permit it. I, therefore, shall follow that course. Besides, these men who have taken their stand here say that if we propose to let a man go who is manifestly injuring the oligarchy, they will not suffer us to do so. Now it is provided in the new laws that while no one of those who are on the roll of the Three Thousand may be put to death without your vote, the Thirty shall have power of life or death over those outside the roll. I, therefore," he said, "strike off this man Theramenes from the roll, with the approval of all the Thirty. That being done," he added, "we now condemn him to death."

When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar and said : "And I, sirs," said he, "beg only bare justice,—that it be not within the power of Critias to strike off either me or whomsoever of you he may wish, but rather that both in your case and in mine the judgment may be rendered strictly in accordance with that law which these men have made regarding those on the roll. To be sure," said he, "I know, I swear by the gods, only too well, that this altar will avail me nothing, but I wish to show that these Thirty are not only most unjust toward men, but also most impious toward the gods. But I am surprised at you," he said, "gentlemen of the aristocracy, that you are not going to defend your own rights, especially when you know that my name is not a whit easier to strike off than the name of each of you." At this moment the herald of the Thirty ordered the Eleven<sup>1</sup> to seize Theramenes ; and when

<sup>1</sup> See on I. vii. 10.

τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγούμενου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἔνδεκα<sup>1</sup> οὐ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε.

- 55 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἄγνο-  
56 οῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἄγνω, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

<sup>1</sup> οἱ ἔνδεκα MSS.: Kel. brackets.

they came in, attended by their servants and with 404 B.C.  
 Satyrus, the most audacious and shameless of them, at their head, Critias said: "We hand over to you," said he, "this man Theramenes, condemned according to the law. Do you, the Eleven, take him and lead him to the proper place and do that which follows."

When Critias had spoken these words, Satyrus dragged Theramenes away from the altar, and his servants lent their aid. And Theramenes, as was natural, called upon gods and men to witness what was going on. But the senators kept quiet, seeing that the men at the rail were of the same sort as Satyrus and that the space in front of the senate-house was filled with the guardsmen, and being well aware that the former had come armed with daggers. So they led the man away through the market-place, while he proclaimed in a very loud voice the wrongs he was suffering. One saying of his that is reported was this: when Satyrus told him that if he did not keep quiet, he would suffer for it, he asked: "Then if I do keep quiet, shall I not suffer?" And when, being compelled to die, he had drunk the hemlock, they said that he threw out the last drops, like a man playing *kottabos*,<sup>1</sup> and exclaimed: "Here's to the health of my beloved Critias." Now I am not unaware of this, that these are not sayings worthy of record; still, I deem it admirable in the man that when death was close at hand, neither self-possession nor the spirit of playfulness departed from his soul.

<sup>1</sup> The game consisted in throwing the last drops from a wine-cup into a basin, at the same time pronouncing the name and wishing the health of the person whom one loved.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὥς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίου καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν
- 3 οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευο-
- 4 φόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσά-
- 5 μενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ



IV. So, then, Theramenes died; but the Thirty, 404 B.C. thinking that now they could play the tyrant without fear, issued a proclamation forbidding those who were outside the roll to enter the city and evicted them from their estates, in order that they themselves and their friends might have these people's lands. And when they fled to Piraeus, they drove many of them away from there also, and filled both Megara and Thebes with the refugees.

Presently Thrasybulus set out from Thebes with about seventy companions and seized Phyle, a strong fortress. And the Thirty marched out from the city against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry, the weather being very fine indeed. When they reached Phyle, some of the young men were so bold as to attack the fortress at once, but they accomplished nothing and suffered some wounds themselves before they retired. And while the Thirty were planning to invest the place, so as to force them to surrender by shutting off their avenues for receiving provisions, a very heavy snow storm came on during the night and continued on the following day. So they came back to the city in the snow, after losing a goodly number of their camp-followers by the attacks of the men in Phyle. Then the Thirty, knowing that the enemy would also gather plunder from the farms if there were no force to protect them, sent out all but a few of the Laconian guardsmen and two divisions of the cavalry to the outlying districts about fifteen stadia from Phyle. These troops made their camp in a bushy spot and proceeded to keep guard. Now by this time about seven hundred men were gathered at Phyle, and



ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκ-  
 τός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα  
 6 στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι  
 ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμεοι  
 ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρό-  
 μῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέ-  
 βαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἐξ ἡ ἑπτὰ  
 στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ  
 εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε  
 τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι  
 7 καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες  
 δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι  
 ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ  
 Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν  
 μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δ'  
 ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλonton οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνε-  
 χώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.

8 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες  
 ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευ-  
 σίνα ἐξιδικῶσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν,  
 εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν  
 ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν  
 τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱπ-  
 πεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν  
 καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευον ἀπο-  
 γράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἕκαστος : Kel. assumes a lacuna after it

during the night Thrasybulus marched down with them; and about three or four stadia from the guardsmen he had his troops ground their arms and keep quiet. Then when it was drawing towards day and the enemy were already getting up and going away from their camp whithersoever each one had to go, and the grooms were keeping up a hubbub as they curried their horses, at this moment Thrasybulus and his men picked up their arms and charged on the run. They struck down some of the enemy and turned them all to flight, pursuing them for six or seven stadia; and they killed more than one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, and among the cavalry Nicostratus, nicknamed "the beautiful," and two more besides, catching them while still in their beds. Then after returning from the pursuit and erecting a trophy and packing up all the arms and baggage they had captured, they went back to Phyle. And when the cavalry from the city came to the rescue, there were none of the enemy left to be seen; so after waiting until their relatives had taken up the bodies of the dead, they returned to the city.

After this the Thirty, deeming their government no longer secure, formed a plan to appropriate Eleusis, so as to have a place of refuge if it should prove necessary. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, having issued orders to the cavalry to accompany them, went to Eleusis. There they held a review of the townspeople under guard of the cavalry, pretending that they wanted to know how numerous they were and how large an additional garrison they would require, and then ordered them all to register; and each man when he had registered had to pass out

διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἱππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παρα-  
 9 δοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἡττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μετέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν  
 10 ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθύς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν  
 11 Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὦν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖ-

by the gate in the town wall in the direction of the sea. 404 B.C. Meanwhile they had stationed the cavalry on the shore on either side of the gate, and as each man passed out their servants bound him fast. And when all had thus been seized, they ordered Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, to take them to Athens and turn them over to the Eleven. On the following day they summoned to the Odeum<sup>1</sup> the hoplites who were on the roll and the cavalry also. Then Critias rose and said: "We, gentlemen," said he, "are establishing this government no less for you than for ourselves. Therefore, even as you will share in honours, so also you must share in the dangers. Therefore you must vote condemnation of the Eleusinians who have been seized, that you may have the same hopes and fears as we." Then he showed them a place and bade them cast their ballots therein, in plain sight of everybody. Now the Laconian guardsmen were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed; and these proceedings were pleasing also to such of the citizens as cared only for their own advantage.

Soon after this Thrasybulus took the men of Phyle, who had now gathered to the number of about one thousand, and came by night to Piraeus. When the Thirty learned of this, they at once set out against him, with the Laconian guardsmen and their own cavalry and hoplites; then they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus. And for a time the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but when they saw that the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, needed a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous,

<sup>1</sup> A building designed for musical performances. It was just outside the city, to the south-east.

- σθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγ-
- 12 μένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο.
- Ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων, κατὰ
- 13 μέσον στάς ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνήσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὗς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλανον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο· ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται οὐ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ὦντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ
- 14 αἰὲν ἠυχόμεθα. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δει-

they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia.<sup>1</sup> And the men from the city, when they came to the market-place of Hippodamus,<sup>2</sup> first formed themselves in line of battle, so that they filled the road which leads to the temple of Artemis of Munichia and the sanctuary of Bendis; and they made a line not less than fifty shields in depth; then, in this formation, they advanced up the hill. As for the men from Phyle, they too filled the road, but they made a line not more than ten hoplites in depth. Behind the hoplites, however, were stationed peltasts and light javelin-men, and behind them the stone-throwers. And of these there were many, for they came from that neighbourhood.

And now, while the enemy were advancing, Thrasylulus ordered his men to ground their shields and did the same himself, though still keeping the rest of his arms, and then took his stand in the midst of them and spoke as follows: "Fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you and to remind others that those who form the right wing of the approaching force are the very men whom you turned to flight and pursued four days ago, but the men upon the extreme left—they, yes they, are the Thirty, who robbed us of our city when we were guilty of no wrong, and drove us from our homes, and proscribed those who were dearest to us. But now, behold, they have found themselves in a situation in which they never expected to be, but we always prayed that they might be. For with arms in our hands we stand face to face with them; and the gods, because

<sup>1</sup> On the eastern side of the Piræus peninsula.

<sup>2</sup> The architect of the market-place, as well as of the whole town of Piræus.



- πνούντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδενόμεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι τροπαῖα
- 15 ἴστασθαι διδόασιν· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὔτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι δύναιντ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.
- 16 καὶ ὥετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλῶμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.
- 17 ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὧν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπιδώσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημεῖον γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὧν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα. ὅταν δὲ τὸν Εὐνάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν,

once we were seized while dining or sleeping or trading, because some of us also were banished when we were not only guilty of no offence, but were not even in the city, are now manifestly fighting on our side. For in fair weather they send a storm, when it is to our advantage, and when we attack, they grant us, though we are few in number and our enemies are many, to set up trophies of victory; and now in like manner they have brought us to a place where the men before you, because they are marching up hill, cannot throw either spears or javelins over the heads of those in front of them, while we, throwing both spears and javelins and stones down hill, shall reach them and strike down many. And though one would have supposed that we should have to fight with their front ranks at least on even terms, yet in fact, if you let fly your missiles with a will, as you should, no one will miss his man when the road is full of them, and they in their efforts to protect themselves will be continually skulking under their shields. You will therefore be able, just as if they were blind men, to strike them wherever you please and then leap upon them and overthrow them. And now, comrades, we must so act that each man shall feel in his breast that he is chiefly responsible for the victory. For victory, God willing, will now give back to us country and homes, freedom and honours, children, to such as have them, and wives. Happy, indeed, are those of us who shall win the victory and live to behold the gladdest day of all! And happy also he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious. Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalios<sup>1</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Ares.

τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρόμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

- 18 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ
- 19 μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδον, προσιόντες
- 20 ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὖφωνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύ-

our aid, then let us all, moved by one spirit, take vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered." 404 B.C.

After saying these words and turning about to face the enemy, he kept quiet; for the seer bade them not to attack until one of their own number was either killed or wounded. "But as soon as that happens," he said, "we shall lead on, and to you who follow will come victory, but death, methinks, to me." And his saying did not prove false, for when they had taken up their shields, he, as though led on by a kind of fate, leaped forth first of all, fell upon the enemy, and was slain, and he lies buried at the ford of the Cephissus; but the others were victorious, and pursued the enemy as far as the level ground. In this battle fell two of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus, one of the Ten who ruled in Piraeus, Charmides, the son of Glaucon, and about seventy of the others. And the victors took possession of their arms, but they did not strip off the tunic<sup>1</sup> of any citizen. When this had been done and while they were giving back the bodies of the dead, many on either side mingled and talked with one another. And Cleocritus, the herald of the initiated,<sup>2</sup> a man with a very fine voice, obtained silence and said: "Fellow citizens, why do you drive us out of the city? why do you wish to kill us? For we never did you any harm, but we have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most splendid festivals, we have been companions in the dance and schoolmates and comrades in arms, and we have braved many dangers

<sup>1</sup> Worn underneath the breastplate. The victors, then, appropriated the arms and armour of the dead, but not their clothing. <sup>2</sup> i.e. in the Eleusinian mysteries.

- καμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευ-  
 21 θερίας. πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων καὶ μητρώων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη  
 22 πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.  
 Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν  
 23 ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαίότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεῖη καθυφίσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδίκηκεναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους



with you both by land and by sea in defence of the common safety and freedom of us both. In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, in the name of our ties of kinship and marriage and comradeship,—for all these many of us share with one another,—cease, out of shame before gods and men, to sin against your fatherland, and do not obey those most accursed Thirty, who for the sake of their private gain have killed in eight months more Athenians, almost, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. And when we might live in peace as fellow citizens, these men bring upon us war with one another, a war most utterly shameful and intolerable, utterly unholy and hated by both gods and men. Yet for all that, be well assured that for some of those now slain by our hands not only you, but we also, have wept bitterly.”

Thus he spoke; but the surviving officials of the oligarchy, partly because their followers were hearing such things, led them back to the city. On the following day the Thirty, utterly dejected and with but few adherents left, held their session in the council-chamber; and as for the Three Thousand, wherever their several detachments were stationed, everywhere they began to quarrel with one another. For all those who had done any act of especial violence and were therefore fearful, urged strenuously that they ought not to yield to the men in Piræus; while those who were confident that they had done no wrong, argued in their own minds and set forth to the others that there was no need of their suffering these evils, and they said that they ought not to obey the Thirty or allow them to ruin the state. In the end they voted to depose the Thirty

404 B.C.



μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο  
δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

- 24 Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ  
δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ  
ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπε-  
μέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ  
᾿Ωιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες,  
καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἐσπέρας  
σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχῃ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον  
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰὲν φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν  
25 τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ  
τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ  
μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο.  
πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες,  
οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰσοτέ-  
λειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλίται,  
πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ  
ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιού-  
μενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκά-  
26 θευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως  
ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς  
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς,  
καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυ-  
χον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in order to serve both as horsemen and as hoplites.  
See below and cp. note on iii. 48.

and choose others. And they chose ten, one from 414 B.C.  
each tribe.

The Thirty thereupon retired to Eleusis; and the 403 B.C.  
Ten, with the aid of the cavalry commanders, took care of the men in the city, who were in a state of great disquiet and distrust of one another. In fact, even the cavalry did guard duty by night, being quartered in the Odeum and keeping with them both their horses and their shields<sup>1</sup>; and such was the suspicion that prevailed, that they patrolled along the walls<sup>2</sup> from evening onwards with their shields, and toward dawn with their horses, fearing continually that they might be attacked by parties of men from Piraeus. The latter, who were now numerous and included all sorts of people, were engaged in making shields, some of wood, others of wicker-work, and in painting them. And having given pledges that whoever fought with them should be accorded equality in taxation<sup>3</sup> with citizens even if they were foreigners, they marched forth before ten days had passed, a large body of hoplites with numerous light troops; they also got together about seventy horsemen; and they made forays and collected wood and produce, and then came back to spend the night in Piraeus. As for the men in the city, none of them went forth from the walls under arms except the cavalry, who sometimes captured foraging parties made up of the men from Piraeus and inflicted losses upon their main body. They also fell in with some people of Aexone

<sup>1</sup> i.e. outside the walls (see note on Odeum, § 9). In their "distrust of one another" (see above) they sought by this means to prevent desertions to Piraeus.

<sup>2</sup> A favoured class of resident aliens, the *ισοτελεῖς*, stood upon an equal footing with Athenian citizens in respect to taxes.

ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τοὺς Λυσίμαχος ὁ Ἱππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων  
 27 ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε.

28 Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθεῖν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι.  
 29 καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσινάδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι

who were going to their own farms after provisions; 403 B.C. and Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, put these men to the sword, although they pleaded earnestly and many of the cavalymen were much opposed to the proceeding. In retaliation, the men in Piraeus killed one of the cavalymen, Callistratus, of the tribe of Leontis, having captured him in the country. For by this time they were very confident, so that they even made attacks upon the wall of the city. And perhaps it is proper to mention also the following device of the engineer in the city: when he learned that the enemy were intending to bring up their siege-engines by the race-course which leads from the Lyceum, he ordered all his teams to haul stones each large enough to load a wagon and drop them at whatever spot in the course each driver pleased. When this had been done, each single one of the stones caused the enemy a great deal of trouble.

And now, when the Thirty in Eleusis sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon, and likewise those in the city who were on the roll, and asked for aid on the plea that the commons had revolted from the Lacedaemonians, Lysander, calculating that it was possible to blockade the men in Piraeus both by land and by sea and to force them to a quick surrender if they were cut off from provisions, lent his assistance to the ambassadors, with the result that a hundred talents was loaned to the Athenian oligarchs and that Lysander himself was sent out as governor on land and his brother Libys as admiral of the fleet. Accordingly, Lysander proceeded to Eleusis and busied himself with gathering a large force of Peloponnesian hoplites; meanwhile the admiral kept guard on the sea, to prevent any supplies from coming in by

αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. 30 συγείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιούντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι.

Ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις 31 τὸ εὐώνυμον.<sup>1</sup> πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πανσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἶη ὁ 32 Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν

<sup>1</sup> τὸ εὐώνυμον MSS.: Kel. inserts Ἐλευσῖνι after it.

water to the besieged; so that the men in Piræus 403 B.C. were soon in difficulties again, while the men in the city again had their turn of being confident, in reliance upon Lysander. While matters were proceeding in this way, Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, persuaded three of the five ephors and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. And all the allies likewise followed with him, excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession.

So Pausanias encamped on the plain which is called Halipedum, near Piræus, himself commanding the right wing, while Lysander and his mercenaries formed the left. Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piræus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked them, at least so far as to raise the war-cry, in order that it might not be evident that he felt kindly toward them. And when he had retired without accomplishing anything by his attack, on the next day he took two regiments of the Lacedaemonians and three tribes of the Athenian cavalry and proceeded along the shore to the Still Harbour,<sup>1</sup> looking to see where Piræus could best be shut off by a wall. As he was returning, some of the enemy

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the inlet to the west of the main harbour of Piræus.



- τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον.
- 83 ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψилоὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαι-
- 34 μονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πausανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλων MSS.: Ἀλῶν Kel.

attacked him and caused him trouble, whereupon, becoming angry, he ordered the cavalry to charge upon them at full speed, and the infantrymen within ten years of military age<sup>1</sup> to follow the cavalry; while he himself with the rest of his troops came along in the rear. And they killed nearly thirty of the enemy's light troops and pursued the rest to the theatre in Piraeus. There, as it chanced, the whole body of the light troops and likewise the hoplites of the men in Piraeus were arming themselves. And the light troops, rushing forth at once, set to throwing javelins, hurling stones, shooting arrows, and discharging slings; then the Lacedaemonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy; and at this the latter attacked much more vigorously. In this attack Chaeron and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs,<sup>2</sup> were slain, and Lacrates, the Olympic victor, and other Lacedaemonians who lie buried before the gates of Athens in the Cerameicus. Now Thrasybulus and the rest of his troops—that is, the hoplites—when they saw the situation, came running to lend aid, and quickly formed in line, eight deep, in front of their comrades. And Pausanias, being hard pressed and retreating about four or five stadia to a hill, sent orders to the Lacedaemonians and to the allies to join him. There he formed an extremely deep phalanx and led the charge against the Athenians. The Athenians did indeed accept battle at close quarters; but in the end some of them were pushed into the miry of the marsh of Halae and others gave

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the youngest ten year-classes, each year-class including those who reached military age (i.e. the age of 20) in the same year.

<sup>2</sup> The title of the commander of a Lacedaemonian regiment.

ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

- 35 Ὁ δὲ Πausanίας τροπαίου στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρή λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. δίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὥς πλείστους συλληγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.
- 36 ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὦν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφοτέροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἰδιώτας,
- 37 Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὥχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε
- 38 Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάν-

way ; and about one hundred and fifty of them were 403 B.C.  
slain.

Thereupon Pausanias set up a trophy and returned to his camp ; and despite what had happened he was not angry with them, but sent secretly and instructed the men in Piraeus to send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were with him, telling them also what proposals these ambassadors should offer ; and they obeyed him. He also set about dividing the men in the city, and gave directions that as many of them as possible should gather together and come to him and the ephors and say that they had no desire to be waging war with the men in Piraeus, but rather to be reconciled with them and in common with them to be friends of the Lacedaemonians. Now Naucleidas also, who was an ephor, was pleased to hear this. For, as it is customary for two of the ephors to be with a king on a campaign, so in this instance Naucleidas and one other were present, and both of them held to the policy of Pausanias rather than to that of Lysander. For this reason they eagerly sent to Lacedaemon both the envoys from Piraeus, having the proposals for peace with the Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from the city party as private individuals, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus. When, however, these men had departed for Lacedaemon, the authorities in the city also proceeded to send ambassadors, with the message that they surrendered both the walls which they possessed and themselves to the Lacedaemonians, to do with them as they wished ; and they said they counted it only fair that the men in Piraeus, if they claimed to be friends of the Lacedaemonians, should in like manner surrender Piraeus and Munichia. When the ephors and the members

των αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοί, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausanίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο καλλίστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ὥστε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ ὑρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

- 39 Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Πausanίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν<sup>1</sup> οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος
- 40 ἔλεξεν. Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκησεν<sup>2</sup> ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα
- 41 φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἱ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων

<sup>1</sup> ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν: inserted by Cobet, whom Kel. follows.

<sup>2</sup> ἡδίκησεν MSS.: ἡδίκηκεν Kel.



of the Lacedaemonian assembly had heard all the 403 B.C.  
ambassadors, they dispatched fifteen men to Athens  
and commissioned them, in conjunction with Pau-  
sanias, to effect a reconciliation in the best way they  
could. And they effected a reconciliation on these  
terms, that the two parties should be at peace  
with one another and that every man should de-  
part to his home except the members of the Thirty,  
and of the Eleven, and of the Ten who had ruled  
in Piraeus. They also decided that if any of the  
men in the city were afraid, they should settle at  
Eleusis.

When these things had been accomplished, Pausa-  
nias disbanded his army and the men from Piraeus  
went up to the Acropolis under arms and offered  
sacrifice to Athena. When they had come down,  
the generals convened an Assembly. There Thrasy-  
bulus spoke as follows: "I advise you," he said, "men  
of the city, to 'know yourselves.' And you would  
best learn to know yourselves were you to consider  
what grounds you have for arrogance, that you should  
undertake to rule over us. Are you more just? But  
the commons, though poorer than you, never did you  
any wrong for the sake of money; while you, though  
richer than any of them, have done many disgraceful  
things for the sake of gain. But since you can lay no  
claim to justice, consider then whether it is courage  
that you have a right to pride yourselves upon. And  
what better test could there be of this than the way  
we made war upon one another? Well then, would  
you say that you are superior in intelligence, you  
who having a wall, arms, money, and the Pelopon-  
nesians as allies, have been worsted by men who had



(9)  
 περιελήλασθε<sup>1</sup>; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ  
 οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷγε ὥσπερ  
 τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδι-  
 δόασιν, οὕτω καὶ κεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῇ ἡδι-  
 42 κημένῳ τούτῳ δῆμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι  
 γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὦν ὁμωμόκατε παρα-  
 βῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε.  
 εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν  
 δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις  
 χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

- 43 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολι-  
 τεύοντο· ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους  
 μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἑλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι παν-  
 δημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς αὐτῶν εἰς  
 λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰς-  
 πέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν  
 συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἢ μὴν μὴ  
 μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται  
 καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

<sup>1</sup> περιελήλασθε Geist: περιελήλυθεν MSS.: περιείληφθε Kel.

none of these? Is it the Lacedaemonians, then, think you, that you may pride yourselves upon? How so? Why, they have delivered you up to this outraged populace, just as men fasten a clog upon the necks of snapping dogs and deliver them up to keepers, and now have gone away and left you. Nevertheless, my comrades, I am not the man to ask you to violate any one of the pledges to which you have sworn, but I ask you rather to show this virtue also, in addition to your other virtues,—that you are true to your oaths and are god-fearing men.” When he had said this and more to the same effect, and had told them that there was no need of their being disturbed, but that they had only to live under the laws that had previously been in force, he dismissed the Assembly.

So at that time they appointed their magistrates and proceeded to carry on their government; but at a later period, on learning that the men at Eleusis were hiring mercenary troops, they took the field with their whole force against them, put to death their generals when they came for a conference, and then, by sending to the others their friends and kinsmen, persuaded them to become reconciled. And, pledged as they were under oath, that in very truth they would not remember past grievances, the two parties even to this day live together as fellow-citizens and the commons abide by their oaths.



### BOOK III

# Γ

- Ι. Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἡξίου, οἷόςπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμῖν τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο. κακεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Σύννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ
- 2 βασιλείᾳ. ὥς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατεύμα' τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεὶ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> Artaxerxes.

<sup>2</sup> At Cunaxa, near Babylon, in the autumn of 401 B.C.

## BOOK III

I. So ended the civil strife at Athens. Shortly 401 B.C.  
after this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon and asked that the Lacedaemonians should show themselves as good friends to him as he was to them in the war against the Athenians. And the ephors, thinking that what he said was fair, sent instructions to Samius, at that time their admiral, to hold himself under Cyrus' orders, in case he had any request to make. And in fact Samius did zealously just what Cyrus asked of him: he sailed round to Cilicia at the head of his fleet, in company with the fleet of Cyrus, and made it impossible for Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia, to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the Persian king. As to how Cyrus collected an army and with this army made the march up country against his brother,<sup>1</sup> how the battle<sup>2</sup> was fought, how Cyrus was slain, and how after that the Greeks effected their return in safety to the sea—all this has been written by Themistogenes<sup>3</sup> the Syracusan.

Now when Tissaphernes, who was thought to have 400 B.C.  
proved himself very valuable to the King in the war against his brother, was sent down as satrap both of the provinces which he himself had previously ruled

<sup>1</sup> Unknown except for this reference. It would seem that Xenophon's own *Anabasis* was not published at the time when these words were written.



- πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὦν Κῦρος, εὐθὺς ἡξίου τὰς Ἴωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, αὐτ' ἐκείνου ἡρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἡξίου, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἢ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν.
- 4 οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἄρμοστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμῶδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἡτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ
- 5 δῆμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλουντο. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε μὲν<sup>1</sup> στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸ πεδῖον οὐ κατέβαινε, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὦν, δύναίτο ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδήωτον
- 6 διαφυλάττειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνέμειξαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκούσαν προσέλαβε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> μὲν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> ὄρων Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν MSS.: Kel. inserts πρὸς before τὸ ἱππ.

and of those which Cyrus had ruled, he straightway demanded that all the Ionian cities should be subject to him. But they, both because they wanted to be free and because they feared Tissaphernes, inasmuch as they had chosen Cyrus, while he was living, instead of him, refused to admit him into their cities and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon asking that the Lacedaemonians, since they were the leaders of all Hellas, should undertake to protect them also, the Greeks in Asia, in order that their land might not be laid waste and that they themselves might be free. Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent them Thibron as governor, giving him an army made up of a thousand emancipated Helots and four thousand of the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also asked from the Athenians three hundred cavalrymen, saying that he would provide pay for them himself. And the Athenians sent some of those who had served as cavalrymen in the time of the Thirty, thinking it would be a gain to the democracy if they should live in foreign lands and perish there. Furthermore, when they arrived in Asia, Thibron also gathered troops from the Greek cities of the mainland; for at that time all the cities obeyed any command a Lacedaemonian might give. Now while he was at the head of this army, Thibron did not venture to descend to level ground, because he saw the enemy's cavalry, but was satisfied if he could keep the particular territory where he chanced to be from being ravaged. When, however, the men who had made the march up country with Cyrus joined forces with him after their safe return, from that time on he would draw up his troops against Tissaphernes even on the plains, and he got possession of cities, Pergamus by voluntary

400 B.C.

399 B.C.

- Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου· ἐκείνῳ δ' αὕτη ἡ χώρα δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως ἐδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρύνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἑρετριέων μηδίσας 7 ἔφυγεν. ἦν δὲ ἄς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδενσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὠρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ὑπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.
- 8 Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευσομένου,<sup>1</sup> Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> πορευσομένου Dindorf: πορευομένου Kel. with MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Xerxes, in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 101 ff.

surrender, and likewise Teuthrania and Halisarna, 399 B.C. two cities which were under the rule of Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedaemonian; and this territory had been given to Demaratus by the Persian king<sup>1</sup> as a reward for accompanying him on his expedition against Greece. Furthermore, Gorgion and Gongylus gave in their allegiance to Thibron, they being brothers, one of them the ruler of Gambrium and Palaegambrium, the other of Myrina and Grynium; and these cities also were a gift from the Persian king to the earlier Gongylus, because he espoused the Persian cause,—the only man among the Eretrians who did so,—and was therefore banished. On the other hand, there were some weak cities which Thibron did actually capture by storm; as for Larisa (Egyptian Larisa, as it is called<sup>2</sup>), when it refused to yield he invested and besieged it. When he proved unable to capture it in any other way, he sunk a shaft and began to dig a tunnel therefrom, with the idea of cutting off their water supply. And when they made frequent sallies from within the wall and threw pieces of wood and stones into the shaft, he met this move by making a wooden shed and setting it over the shaft. The Larisaeans, however, sallied forth by night and destroyed the shed also, by fire. Then, since he seemed to be accomplishing nothing, the ephors sent him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria.

When, in pursuance of his intention to march against Caria, he was already at Ephesus, Dercylidas arrived to take command of the army, a man who

<sup>1</sup> Because Cyrus the Great settled there a number of captured Egyptians. *Cyrop.* VII. i. 45.

στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθείς ἔφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὥς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ  
 9 στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνοὺς ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸν Φαρναβάζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ· ἀρμοστής γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὃ δοκεῖ κηλὶς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀταξίας γὰρ ζημίωμά ἐστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἥδιον  
 10 ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρναβάζον ἦει. καὶ εὐθύς μὲν τοσοῦτῳ διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάβας τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἔζη, Ζήνις Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἢ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ αὐτή, ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ



was reputed to be exceedingly resourceful; indeed, 399 B.C. he bore the nickname "Sisyphus." Thibron accordingly went back home, and was condemned and banished; for the allies accused him of allowing his soldiers to plunder their friends. And when Dercylidas took over the command of the army, being aware that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were suspicious of each other, he came to an understanding with Tissaphernes and led away his army into the territory of Pharnabazus, preferring to make war against one of the two rather than against both together. Besides, Dercylidas was an enemy of Pharnabazus from earlier days; for after he had become governor at Abydus at the time when Lysander was admiral, he was compelled, as a result of his being slandered by Pharnabazus, to stand sentry, carrying his shield—a thing which is regarded by Lacedaemonians of character as a disgrace; for it is a punishment for insubordination. On this account, then, he was all the more pleased to proceed against Pharnabazus. And from the outset he was so superior to Thibron in the exercise of command that he led his troops through the country of friends all the way to the Aeolis,<sup>1</sup> in the territory of Pharnabazus, without doing any harm whatever to his allies.

This Aeolis belonged, indeed, to Pharnabazus, but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he lived, acted as satrap of this territory for him; when Zenis fell ill and died, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, Mania, the wife of Zenis,<sup>2</sup> who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue, took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus him-

<sup>1</sup> A district in north-western Asia Minor. The northern part of it was included in the satrapy of Pharnabazus.



- παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυνα-  
 μένοις ~~μαλιστα~~ παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο.
- 11 ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ  
 ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τὰλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς  
 φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας·  
 ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι μηδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί  
 σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δέ τί σοι  
 μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμέ
- 12 ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρ-  
 νάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἡ  
 δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τε φόρους  
 οὐδὲν ἥττον τάνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις,  
 ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, αἰεὶ ἦγε δῶρα  
 αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκείνος εἰς τὴν χώραν κατα-  
 βαίνοι, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα
- 13 καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε  
 πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων  
 προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ  
 Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ  
 προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἄρμα-  
 μάξης θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα  
 ἀμέμπτως ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν  
 κατεσκευάσατο· συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρνα-  
 βάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι,  
 ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὥστε  
 καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος

self and to use for winning the favour of his concubines and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. And when she had gained an audience with him, she said: "Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? And if I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another." When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap. And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours,

- 14 καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει. ἤδη δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὢν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινων ὡς αἰσχυρὸν εἶη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ' ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσῆκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευσούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνίξαι αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς
- 15 ἑπτακαίδεκα. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἐχυρὰς πόλεις κατέσχευεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ· αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζω ἔσφζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἡξίου ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη ζῆν βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανία.
- 16 Ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἡξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἴλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλίται ἐπείθοντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ
- 17 πᾶν τι καλῶς περιείποντο· ὁ δ' ἐν Κεβρῆνι,

and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. 399 B.C. Now when she was more than forty years old, Meidias, who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station, and since, although she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. When he had done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. The other cities, however, would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. And Pharnabazus in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live if he failed to avenge Mania.

It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived, and he forthwith took possession in a single day of Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonaë, the cities on the coast, by their voluntary act; then he sent to the cities of Aeolis also and urged them to free themselves, admit him into their walls, and become allies. Now the people of Neandria, Ilium, and Cocylum obeyed him, for the Greek garrisons of those cities had been by no means well treated since the death of Mania; but the man who commanded the garrison in Cebren, a

- μάλα ἰσχυρῶ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζω τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος, παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἐθύετο. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ· καὶ μέχρι τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων· ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Φαρνάβαζον βοηθῆσαι
- 18 ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. Ἀθηνάδας δέ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φλυναρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ' ἵκανὸς εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμὼν σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειράτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτὸν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπήλασαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονται ἐκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἃ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοίῃ, οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλονται σὺν τοῖς Ἑλλησι
- 19 μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ διαλεγόμενων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθύς ὥσπερ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκῶς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ἀναπετά-

<sup>1</sup> ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ MSS.: ἀθυμοτέρους κατὰ Kel.



very strong place, thinking that if he succeeded in keeping the city for Pharnabazus he would receive honours at his hands, refused to admit Dercylidas. Thereupon the latter, in anger, made preparations for attack. And when the sacrifices that he offered did not prove favourable on the first day, he sacrificed again on the following day. And when these sacrifices also did not prove favourable, he tried again on the third day; and for four days he kept persistently on with his sacrificing, though greatly disturbed by the delay; for he was in haste to make himself master of all Aeolis before Pharnabazus came to the rescue. Now a certain Athenadas, a Sicyonian captain, thinking that Dercylidas was acting foolishly in delaying, and that he was strong enough of himself to deprive the Cebrenians of their water supply, rushed forward with his own company and tried to choke up their spring. And the people within the walls, sallying forth against him, inflicted many wounds upon him, killed two of his men, and drove back the rest with blows and missiles. But while Dercylidas was in a state of vexation and was thinking that his attack would thus be made less spirited, heralds came forth from the wall, sent by the Greeks in the city, and said that what their commander was doing was not to their liking, but that for their part they preferred to be on the side of the Greeks rather than of the barbarian. While they were still talking about this, there came a messenger from their commander, who sent word that he agreed with all that the first party were saying. Accordingly Dercylidas, whose sacrifices on that day, as it chanced, had just proved favourable, immediately had his troops take up their arms and led them toward the gates; and the people threw



σαντες ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς εὐθὺς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν Γέργιθα.

- 20 Ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὁκνῶν δ' ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἓνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὁποίους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ συμμείξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἡρώτα ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ' ᾧτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔαν· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦει
- 21 πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν. γνούς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο κωλύειν βία τῶν πολιτῶν, εἶασεν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος, ὥσπερ Ἑλληνας καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρή, οὕτω πολιτεύειν, ἐξελθὼν ἠγεῖτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέργιθα. συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Σκηψίων, τιμῶντές τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· ὁ δὲ Μειδίας παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἡξίου τὴν
- 22 τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς ἀτυχῆσοι· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦει πρὸς τὰς πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο.

them open and admitted him. And after stationing a 399 B.C.  
garrison in this city also, he marched at once against  
Scepsis and Gergis.

Now Meidias, who was expecting the coming of Pharnabazus and on the other hand was by this time afraid of his own citizens, sent to Dercylidas and said that he would come to a conference with him if he should first receive hostages. And Dercylidas sent him one man from each of the cities of the allies, and bade him take as many and whoever he pleased. Meidias took ten and came forth from the city, and when he met Dercylidas asked him on what conditions he could be an ally of the Lacedaemonians. Dercylidas replied, on condition of allowing his citizens to be free and independent; and as he said this he proceeded to advance upon Scepsis. Then Meidias, realizing that he would not be able, against the will of the citizens, to prevent his doing so, allowed him to enter the city. And Dercylidas, when he had sacrificed to Athena on the acropolis of Scepsis, led forth Meidias' garrison, gave over the city to the citizens, and then, after exhorting them to order their public life as Greeks and freemen should, departed from the city and led his army against Gergis. And many of the Scepsians took part in the escort which accompanied him on his way, paying him honour and being well pleased at what had been done, and Meidias also followed along with him and urged him to give over the city of the Gergithians to him. And Dercylidas told him only that he would not fail to obtain any of his rights; and as he said this, he was approaching the gates of the city together with Meidias, and the army was following him in double file as though on a peaceful mission.

- Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὁρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου· Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἡγῇ μὲν σύ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταῦθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὥκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρήμα συλληφθῇ, ἐκέλευσεν
- 23 ἀνοῖξαι. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνείπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· Μει-
- 24 δία γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι. ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὃ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἄπειμι, ἔφη, ξενιά σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δέ· Οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σου, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεταιται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διασκεψόμεθα καὶ ποιήσομεν.
- 25 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἡρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλιπε; Μάλιστα, ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χωροί; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηψίων εἶπον· Ψεύδεται
- 26 σε οὗτος, ὦ Δερκυλίδα. Ὑμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν

Now the men on the towers of Gergis, which were extremely high, did not throw their missiles because they saw Meidias with him; and when Dercylidas said: "Bid them open the gates, Meidias, so that you may lead the way and I may go with you to the temple and there sacrifice to Athena," Meidias, although he shrank from opening the gates, nevertheless out of fear that he might be seized on the spot, gave the order to open them. When Dercylidas entered he proceeded to the acropolis, keeping Meidias with him as before; and he ordered the rest of his soldiers to take their positions along the walls while he, with those about him, sacrificed to Athena. When the sacrifice had been completed he made proclamation that the spearmen of Meidias' bodyguard should take their positions at the van of his own army, saying that they were to serve him as mercenaries; for Meidias, he said, no longer had anything to fear. Then Meidias, not knowing what to do, said: "Well as for me," said he, "I will go away to prepare hospitality for you." And Dercylidas replied: "No, by Zeus, for it would be shameful for me, who have just sacrificed, to be entertained by you instead of entertaining you. Stay, therefore, with us, and while the dinner is preparing you and I will think out what is fair toward one another and act accordingly."

When they were seated Dercylidas began asking questions: "Tell me, Meidias, did your father leave you master of his property?" "Yes, indeed," he said. "And how many houses had you? How many farms? How many pastures?" As Meidias began to make a list, the Scepsians who were present said, "He is deceiving you, Dercylidas." "Now don't you," said he, "be too petty about the details."

μικρολογεῖσθε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρώα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν. Ἡμέτερ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἡμῖν Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὅπου κεῖται

27 τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου. ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἴκησιν, ἣν παρειλήφει ὁ Μειδίας, ἡκολούθει καὶ ἐκεῖνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσ-  
ἤλθεν, ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίαις, φράσας δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὥς εἴ τι κλέπτοντες ἀλώσονται τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγήσονται. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατε-

28 σημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. ἐξίων δὲ οὓς ἤυρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἴργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτακισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν· ἂν δέ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γινγνώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺν εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσονται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου· Ἐμέ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, ὦ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ Σκήψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρώᾳ οἰκίᾳ.

II. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὀκτὼ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρὺς



When the list of the inheritance of Meidias had been made Dercylidas said: "Tell me, to whom did Mania belong?" They all said that she belonged to Pharnabazus. "Then," said he, "do not her possessions belong to Pharnabazus too?" "Yes, indeed," they said. "Then they must be ours," he said, "since we are victorious; for Pharnabazus is our enemy. Let some one, then," said he, "lead the way to the place where the possessions of Mania—or rather of Pharnabazus—are stored." Now when the rest led the way to the dwelling of Mania, to which Meidias had succeeded, the latter also followed. And when Dercylidas entered he called the stewards, told his servants to seize them, and announced to them that if they were caught concealing any of Mania's property they should have their throats cut on the spot; so they showed it to him. When he had seen all, he shut it up, sealed it, and set a guard upon it. As he came out he said to some of the commanders of divisions and captains whom he found at the doors: "Gentlemen, we have earned pay for the army—eight thousand men—for almost a year; and if we earn anything more, that, too, shall be added." He said this because he knew that upon hearing it the soldiers would be far more orderly and obedient. And when Meidias asked: "But as for me, Dercylidas, where am I to dwell?" he replied: "Just where it is most proper that you should dwell, Meidias,—in your native city, Scepsis, and in your father's house."

II. After Dercylidas had accomplished these things and gained possession of nine cities in eight days, he set about planning how he might avoid being a burden to his allies, as Thibron had been, by winter-



εἶη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὥσπερ Θίβρων, μὴδ' αὖ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ ἵππῳ κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίσει Φρυγίᾳ, σπονδὰς εἴλετο.

- 2 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίδα Θράκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πάνυ τι ἀχθομένου· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἵππεῖς τε ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὡς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι στρατοπέδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὡς εἴκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐξῆσαν ἐπὶ λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδρά-
- 3 ποδά τε καὶ χρήματα. ἤδη δ' ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ' ἐξῆσαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἑλληνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες παμπληθεῖς πελτασταὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὡς διακοσίοις οὖσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον, οἱ δ' ἠκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο μὲν καὶ

ing in a friendly country, and how, on the other hand, Pharnabazus might not, despising the Lacedaemonian army because of his superiority in cavalry, harm the Greek cities. So he sent to Pharnabazus and asked him whether he preferred to have peace or war. And Pharnabazus, thinking that Aeolis had been made a strong base of attack upon his own dwelling-place, Phrygia, chose a truce. 399 B.C.

When these things had taken place, Dercylidas went to Bithynian Thrace and there passed the winter, by no means to the displeasure of Pharnabazus, for the Bithynians were often at war with him. And during most of the time Dercylidas was plundering Bithynia in safety and had provisions in abundance; when, however, a force of Odrysians, about two hundred horsemen and about three hundred peltasts, came to him as allies from Seuthes<sup>1</sup> across the strait, these troops, after making a camp about twenty stadia from the Greek army and enclosing it with a palisade, asked Dercylidas for some of his hoplites as a guard for their camp and then sallied forth for booty, and seized many slaves and much property. When their camp was already full of a great deal of plunder, the Bithynians, learning how many went out on the raids and how many Greeks they had left behind as a guard, gathered together in great numbers, peltasts and horsemen, and at daybreak made an attack upon the Greek hoplites, who numbered about two hundred. When the attacking party came near, some of them hurled spears and others threw javelins at the Greeks. And the latter, wounded and slain one after another, and

<sup>1</sup> King of the Odrysians, who dwelt "across the strait" (i.e. the Bosphorus) in Thrace.

- ἀπέθνησκον, ἐποίουν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργμένοι ἐν τῷ  
σταυρῶματι ὡς ἀνδρομήκει ὄντι, διασπάσαντες τὸ  
4 αὐτῶν ὀχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἢ μὲν  
ἐκθείοιεν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥαδίως ἀπέφευγον πελ-  
τάσται ὀπλίτας, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν ἠκόντιζον,  
καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἐκδρομῇ κατέ-  
βαλλον· τέλος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες  
κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν  
ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ  
οὔτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ἦσθοντο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ  
μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν.  
5 ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ  
τοὺς σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θρακῶν ἀπο-  
κτείναντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα  
ἀπῆλθον ὥστε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο, βοη-  
θοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡὔρον ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς ἐν  
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανῆλθον οἱ  
Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολὺν οἶνον  
ἐκπιόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες,  
ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι στρατοπεδευσά-  
μενοι ἦγον καὶ ἔκαον τὴν Βιθυνίδα.
- 6 Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας  
ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐν-  
ταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι  
τελῶν Ἀρακός τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης.  
οὔτοι δ' ἦλθον ἐπισκεψόμενοι τά τε ἄλλα ὅπως  
ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἐροῦντες  
μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν· καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Before ἐν the MSS. have ἀποχωρήσαντες. Kel. brackets.

unable to do the enemy any harm because of being shut up in the palisade, which was about the height of a man, finally broke through their own fortification and charged upon them. Then the Bithynians, while they gave way at whatever point the Greeks rushed forth, and easily made their escape, since they were peltasts fleeing from hoplites, kept throwing javelins upon them from the one side and the other and struck down many of them at every sally; and in the end the Greeks were shot down like cattle shut up in a pen. About fifteen of them, however, made their escape to the main Greek camp, and these fifteen only because, as soon as they perceived the situation, they had slipped away in the course of the battle unheeded by the Bithynians. As for the latter, when they had accomplished this speedy victory, had slain the Odrysian Thracians who guarded the tents, and recovered all the booty, they departed; so that the Greeks, on coming to the rescue when they learned of the affair, found nothing in the camp except dead bodies stripped bare. But when the Odrysians returned, they first buried their dead, drank a great deal of wine in their honour, and held a horse-race; and then, from that time on making common camp with the Greeks, they continued to plunder Bithynia and lay it waste with fire.

At the opening of the spring Dercylidas departed from Bithynia and came to Lampsacus. While he was there, Aracus, Naubates, and Antisthenes arrived under commission of the authorities at home. They came to observe how matters stood in general in Asia, and to tell Dercylidas to remain there and continue in command for the ensuing year; also to

- ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν ὡς ὧν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποιοῦν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἐπαινοῖεν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἂν δὲ δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς
- 7 ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεσθηκὼς ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν· ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἷτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δέ, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἱκανοὶ ἐστε γιγνώσκειν.
- 8 Συσκηνοῦντων δὲ τῶν τε οἰκοθεν πρέσβειων καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδας, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον ὅτι καταλελοίποien πρέσβεις τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιντο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν· εἰ δ' ἀποτευχισθεῖν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ σφίσιν ἂν γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοι βούλονται Λακεδαιμονίων. ὥστ' ἔφασαν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ πεμφθεῖν τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πό-
- 9 λεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἢ ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδόμενος ὅτι ἔμελλον

tell him that the ephors had given them instructions 398 B.C. to call together the soldiers and say that while the ephors censured them for what they had done in former days, they commended them because now they were doing no wrong; they were also to say in regard to the future that if the soldiers were guilty of wrong-doing the ephors would not tolerate it, but if they dealt justly by the allies they would commend them. When, however, they called together the soldiers and told them these things, the leader<sup>1</sup> of Cyrus' former troops replied: "But, men of Lacedaemon, we are the same men now as we were last year; but our commander now is one man, and in the past was another. Therefore you are at once able to judge for yourselves the reason why we are not at fault now, although we were then."

While the ambassadors from home and Dercylidas were quartered together, one of Aracus' party mentioned the fact that they had left ambassadors from the Chersonesians at Lacedaemon. And they said that these ambassadors stated that now they were unable to till their land in the Chersonese, for it was being continually pillaged by the Thracians; but if it were protected by a wall extending from sea to sea, they and likewise all of the Lacedaemonians who so desired would have an abundance of good, tillable land. Consequently, they said, they would not be surprised if some Lacedaemonian were in fact sent out by the state with an army to perform this task. Now Dercylidas, when he heard this, did not make known to them the purpose which he cherished, but dismissed them on their journey through the Greek cities to Ephesus, being well pleased that

<sup>1</sup> Probably Xenophon himself.



ὄψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς δια-  
 αγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας  
 ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετέον ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν  
 Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλοιο σπονδὰς  
 ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἐλο-  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπονδὰς,  
 οὕτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις<sup>1</sup> ἐν  
 εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον σὺν τῷ στρα-  
 τεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς  
 Θράκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου ἀφι-  
 10 κνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον. ἦν καταμαθὼν πόλεις  
 μὲν ἔνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα ἔχουσιν, χώραν δὲ παμφο-  
 ρωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὖσαν, κεκακωμένην δέ,  
 ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, ἐπεὶ μέτρον  
 ἡὔρε τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ  
 ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη  
 διελὼν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἀθλα  
 αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος δώσείν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτειχί-  
 σασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστοι ἄξιοι εἶεν, ἀπε-  
 τέλεσε τὸ τεῖχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἡρινοῦ χρόνου  
 πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τεύχους  
 ἔνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὴν  
 δὲ κάγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην,  
 παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομὰς παντοδαποῖς  
 11 κτήνεσι. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα  
 καλῶς ἐχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἡὔρεν Ἀταρνέα  
 ἔχοντας χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀρμω-  
 μένους φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> After πόλεις the MSS. have φιλίας. Kel. brackets.

they were going to see the cities enjoying a state of 398 B.C  
 peace and prosperity. So they departed. But Dercylidas, having now found out that he was to remain in Asia, sent to Pharnabazus again and asked whether he preferred to have a truce, as during the winter, or war. Since Pharnabazus on this occasion again chose a truce, under these circumstances Dercylidas, leaving the cities of that region also in peace, crossed the Hellespont with his army to Europe, and after marching through a portion of Thrace which was friendly and being entertained by Seuthes, arrived at the Chersonese. And when he learned that this Chersonese contained eleven or twelve towns and was an extremely productive and rich land, but had been ravaged, even as was stated, by the Thracians, and found also that the width of the isthmus was thirty-seven stadia, he did not delay, but after offering sacrifices proceeded to build a wall, dividing the whole distance part by part among the soldiers; and by promising them that he would give prizes to the first who finished their part, and also to the others as they severally might deserve, he completed the wall, although he had not begun upon it until the spring, before the time of harvest. And he brought under the protection of the wall eleven towns, many harbours, a great deal of good land suited for raising grain and fruit, and a vast amount of splendid pasture-land for all kinds of cattle. When he had done this, he crossed back again to Asia.

As he was now inspecting the cities of Asia, he saw that in general they were in good condition, but found that exiles from Chios held possession of Atarneus, a strong place, and from this as a base were pillaging Ionia and making their living thereby.

ζῶντας ἀπὸ τούτου. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῖτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητήν, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἑκπλεῶν πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα εἴη αὐτῷ καταγωγή, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἑφεσον, ἣ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.

- 12 Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφέρνης τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτη Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνούμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἶη ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνει, εἰ βούλοιτο, ἀφίεναι αὐτονόμους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ οὖν κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὕτως ἂν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> αὐτονόμους σφᾶς ἀφείναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'
- 13 ἐποιοῦν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τούτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἀφιγμένος, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο Τισσαφέρνης, ἅμα δὲ διαμαρτυρούμενος ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη κοινῇ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμαχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως· ἄλλως τε γὰρ ὑπεφθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερημένος. ὁ δ' ἀκούων· Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν,

<sup>1</sup> After αὐτὸν the MSS. have συγχωρήσειν. Kel. brackets.

When he learned further that they had a large stock 398 B.C.  
of grain in the city, he invested and besieged them;  
and in eight months he brought them to terms,  
appointed Dracon of Pellene to have charge of  
the city, and after storing in the place all kinds of  
supplies in abundance, so that he might have it as  
a halting-place whenever he came there, departed  
to Ephesus, which is distant from Sardis a three  
days' journey.

Up to this time Tissaphernes and Dercylidas, and 397 B.C.  
the Greeks of this region and the barbarians, con-  
tinued at peace with one another. Now, however,  
embassies came to Lacedaemon from the Ionian cities  
and set forth that it was in the power of Tissaphernes,  
if he chose, to leave the Greek cities independent;  
therefore they expressed the belief that if Caria,  
the particular province where the residence of Tis-  
saphernes was, should suffer harm, under these  
circumstances he would very quickly leave them  
independent. When the ephors heard this, they  
sent to Dercylidas and gave orders that he should  
cross the river into Caria, and that Pharax, the  
admiral, should coast along with his ships to the  
same place. They accordingly did so. Now it chanced  
that at this time Pharnabazus had come to visit  
Tissaphernes, not only because Tissaphernes had  
been appointed general-in-chief, but also for the  
purpose of assuring him that he was ready to make  
war together with him, to be his ally, and to aid  
him in driving the Greeks out of the territory of  
the King; for he secretly envied Tissaphernes his  
position as general for various reasons, but in par-  
ticular he took it hardly that he had been deprived  
of Aeolis. Now when Tissaphernes heard his words,

- ἔφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ  
 14 περὶ τούτων βουλευσόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν,  
 ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὰς φυλακὰς εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα  
 καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν.  
 ὥς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερα-  
 κότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὥς  
 ὀκνοίη μὴ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος  
 ἐρήμην οὔσαν καταθέοντες φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν  
 χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὔτοι  
 οὐδέν τι συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι, ὥς προ-  
 εληλυθότων τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν,  
 15 ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ  
 τῶν μνημάτων· καὶ ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ  
 παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι  
 παρατεταγμένους ἢ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἡ ὁδὸς Κᾶράς τε  
 λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἐτύγγανε  
 παρὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅσον εἶχεν  
 ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν  
 Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρνα-  
 βάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ.  
 16 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν  
 ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι  
 τὴν ταχίστην εἰς ὀκτώ, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ  
 κράσπεδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἵπ-  
 πέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἴους ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων·  
 17 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθύετο. ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου  
 στράτευμα, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς  
 μαχούμενον· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πριήνης τε καὶ  
 Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πό-  
 λεων, οἱ μὲν τινες καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ τὰ  
 ὄπλα ἀπεδίδρασκον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σίτος ἐν

he said: "First, then, cross over with me into Caria, 397 B.C. and then we will consult about these matters." But when they were there, they decided to station adequate garrisons in the fortresses and to cross back again to Ionia. And when Dercylidas heard that they had crossed the Maeander again, he told Pharax that he was afraid Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus might overrun and pillage the land, unprotected as it was, and so crossed over himself to Ionia. Now while they were on the march, the army being by no means in battle formation, since they supposed that the enemy had gone on ahead into the territory of the Ephesians, on a sudden they saw scouts on the burial-mounds in front of them; and when they also sent men to the tops of the mounds and towers in their neighbourhood, they made out an army drawn up in line of battle where their own road ran—Carians with white shields, the entire Persian force which chanced to be at hand, all the Greek troops which each of the two satraps had, and horsemen in great numbers, those of Tissaphernes upon the right wing and those of Pharnabazus upon the left.

When Dercylidas learned of all this, he told the commanders of divisions and the captains to form their men in line, eight deep, as quickly as possible, and to station the peltasts on either wing and likewise the cavalry—all that he chanced to have and such as it was; meanwhile he himself offered sacrifice. Now all that part of the army which was from Peloponnesus kept quiet and prepared for battle; but as for the men from Priene and Achilleium, from the islands and the Ionian cities, some of them left their arms in the standing grain (for the grain was tall in the plain of the Maeander) and ran away, while all



- τῷ Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι  
 18 ἦσαν οὐ μενούντες. τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον  
 ἐξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν. ὁ μέντοι Τισ-  
 σαφέρνης τό τε Κύρειον στράτευμα καταλογιζό-  
 μενος ὥς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας  
 νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἐβού-  
 λετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν  
 εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς λόγους βούλοιτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι.  
 καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἶδη  
 τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευα-  
 σάμην μὲν ἔγωγε μάχεσθαι, ὥς ὀράτε· ἐπεὶ μέντοι  
 ἐκεῖνος βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγὼ  
 ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα δέη ποιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ  
 19 ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον. δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα  
 καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ  
 μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ'  
 Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Δεύκοφρυν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδός τε  
 ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἢ σταδίου  
 ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος.  
 καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς  
 τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς  
 20 πυθέσθαι ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιή-  
 σαιντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονό-  
 μους ἐώη βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ  
 Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι εἰ ἐξέλθοι  
 τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα  
 δὲ εἰπόντες ἀλλήλοις σπονδὰς ἐποίησαντο, ἕως  
 ἀπαγγελθεῖν τὰ λεχθέντα Δερκυλίδα μὲν εἰς  
 Λακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

those who did stand showed clearly that they would 397 B.C.  
not stand very long. On the other side Pharnabazus,  
it was reported, was urging an engagement. But  
Tissaphernes, remembering the way Cyrus' troops had  
made war with the Persians and believing that the  
Greeks were all like them, did not wish to fight, but  
sent to Dercylidas and said that he wanted to come  
to a conference with him. And Dercylidas, taking  
the best-looking of the troops he had, both cavalry  
and infantry, came forward to meet the messengers  
and said: "For my part I had prepared to fight, as  
you see; however, since he wishes to come to a  
conference, I have no objection myself. But if this  
is to be done, pledges and hostages must be given  
and received." When this plan had been decided  
upon and carried out, the armies went away, the  
barbarians to Tralles in Caria, and the Greeks to  
Leucophrys, where there was a very holy shrine of  
Artemis and a lake more than a stadium in length,  
with a sandy bottom and an unfailing supply of  
drinkable, warm water. This, then, was what was  
done at that time; but on the following day the  
commanders came to the place agreed upon, and  
it seemed best to them to learn from one another  
on what terms each would make peace. Dercylidas  
accordingly stated his condition, that the King should  
leave the Greek cities independent; and Tissaphernes  
and Pharnabazus stated theirs, that the Greek army  
should depart from the country and the Lacedae-  
monian governors from the cities. When they had  
stated these terms to one another, they concluded  
a truce, to continue until the proposals should be  
reported by Dercylidas to Lacedaemon, and by  
Tissaphernes to the King.

- 21 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερ-  
κυλίδᾳ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον,  
πάσαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιή-  
σαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους  
καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες κατα-  
δεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυνον καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ καὶ  
τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἄρμα,  
ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας  
στεφανώσων τὸν ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν,
- 22 ἄνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν. τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ  
Ἀγιδος πεμφθέντος θῦσαι τῷ Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν  
τινὰ ἐκώλυνον οἱ Ἑλλεῖοι μὴ προσεῦχέσθαι νίκην  
πολέμου, λέγοντες ὥς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶη οὕτω  
νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐφ'  
23 Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ  
τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις  
καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες  
οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἦλιν εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοίη εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐ-  
τοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. ἀπο-  
κριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν  
ταῦτα, ἐπιληΐδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις, φρουρὰν  
ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἀγίς  
ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλείαν κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> i.e. at the Olympic games.

<sup>2</sup> A Lacedaemonian.

While these things were being done in Asia by 399 B.C Dercylidas, the Lacedaemonians at the same time were engaged in war at home, against the Eleans. They had long been angry with the Eleans, both because the latter had concluded an alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and because, alleging that judgment had been rendered against the Lacedaemonians, they had debarred them from both the horse-races and the athletic contests;<sup>1</sup> and this alone did not suffice them, but furthermore, after Lichas<sup>2</sup> had made over his chariot to the Thebans and they were proclaimed victorious, when Lichas came in to put the garland upon his charioteer, they had scourged him, an old man, and driven him out. And again, at a later time, when Agis was sent to sacrifice to Zeus in accordance with an oracle, the Eleans would not allow him to pray for victory in war, saying that even from ancient times it was an established principle that Greeks should not consult the oracle about a war with Greeks; so that Agis went away without sacrificing. It was in consequence of all these things that the ephors and the assembly were angry, and they determined to bring the Eleans to their senses. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Elis and said that it seemed to the authorities of Lacedaemon to be just that they should leave their outlying towns independent. And when the Eleans replied that they would not do so, for the reason that they held the towns as prizes of war, the ephors called out the ban.<sup>3</sup> And Agis, at the head of the army, made his entrance into the territory of Elis

<sup>3</sup> φρουρὰν φαίνειν was a Lacedaemonian phrase covering both the declaration of war and the mobilization of the army.

- 24 Λάρισον. ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ  
πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπι-  
γίγνεται. ὁ δ' Ἄγις θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν  
πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ  
δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἠλείοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ  
διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ἤδεσαν δυσ-  
25 μενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔσας. περιμόντι δὲ  
τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ  
τὴν Ἥλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἀγιδι πλὴν  
Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμ-  
μαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ  
Ἀγιδος δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθύς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀπο-  
στάντες τῶν Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθύς  
δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαί-  
νουντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν Λετρίνοι καὶ  
Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς.  
26 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθνε  
τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι  
ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο,  
κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑπέρπολλα  
μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο  
ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολ-  
λοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκόντες ἦσαν  
συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς.  
καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς  
27 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν  
πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ  
ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος γὰρ  
ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ

through Achaea, along the Larisus. Now when the 399 B.C.  
 army had but just arrived in the enemy's country  
 and the land was being laid waste, an earthquake  
 took place. Then Agis, thinking that this was a  
 heaven-sent sign, departed again from the country  
 and disbanded his army. As a result of this the  
 Eleans were much bolder, and sent around embassies  
 to all the states which they knew to be unfriendly  
 to the Lacedaemonians. In the course of the year,  
 however, the ephors again called out the ban against  
 Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and  
 the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians,  
 took part with Agis in the campaign. Now when Agis  
 entered Elis by way of Aulon, the Lepreans at once  
 revolted from the Eleans and came over to him, the  
 Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epi-  
 talians. And while he was crossing the river, the  
 Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over  
 to him.

Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacri- 398 B.C.  
 fices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one under-  
 took to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched  
 upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe  
 and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and  
 vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country;  
 insomuch that many more of the Arcadians and  
 Achaeans, on hearing the news, came of their own  
 accord to join the expedition and shared in the plun-  
 der. In fact this campaign proved to be a harvest, as  
 it were, for Peloponnesus. When Agis reached the  
 city he did some harm to the suburbs and the gym-  
 nasia, which were beautiful, but as for the city itself  
 (for it was unwall'd) the Lacedaemonians thought  
 that he was unwilling, rather than unable, to capture



- δύνασθαι ἐλεῖν. δηνουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ οὔσης τῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν, τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνω ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον, τὴν πόλιν<sup>1</sup> δι' αὐτῶν προσχωρήσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες ἐξ οἰκίας ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγὰς ποιούσι, καὶ ἄλλους τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ ὁμοῖόν τινα Θρασυδαίῳ ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτῃ ὥντο Θρασυδαῖον ἀπεκτονέναι, ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμνησε καὶ ἡσυ-  
 28 χίαν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ὥντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὄπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὐπὲρ ἐμεθύσθη. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν,<sup>2</sup> περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἐσμοῦ  
 29 μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμών. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγείτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἄγισ ἀπιὼν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν, φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ Λύσιππον ἀρμοστήν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἥλιδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε.  
 30 Καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο καὶ ἡγετο ἡ τῶν Ἥλείων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν

<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν: inserted by Leunclavius, whom Kel. follows.

<sup>2</sup> After τέθνηκεν the MSS. have ὁ Θρασυδαῖος. Kel. brackets.

it. Now while the country was being ravaged and 398 B.C.  
 the Lacedaemonian army was in the neighbourhood  
 of Cyllene, the party of Xenias—the man of whom it  
 was said that he measured out with a bushel measure  
 the money he received from his father—wishing to  
 have their city go over to the Lacedaemonians  
 and to receive the credit for this, rushed out of a  
 house, armed with swords, and began a slaughter; and  
 having killed, among others, a man who resembled  
 Thrasydaeus, the leader of the commons, they sup-  
 posed that they had killed Thrasydaeus himself, so  
 that the commons lost heart entirely and kept quiet,  
 while the men engaged in the slaughter supposed  
 that everything was already accomplished and their  
 sympathizers gathered under arms in the market-  
 place. But it chanced that Thrasydaeus was still  
 asleep at the very place where he had become drunk. ✓  
 And when the commons learned that he was not  
 dead, they gathered round his house on all sides, as  
 a swarm of bees around its leader. And when Thra-  
 sydaeus put himself at their head and led the way,  
 a battle took place in which the commons were vic-  
 torious, and those who had undertaken the slaughter  
 were forced to flee to the Lacedaemonians. As for  
 Agis, when he departed and crossed the Alpheus  
 again, after leaving a garrison in Epitalium near the  
 Alpheus, with Lysippus as governor, and also leaving  
 there the exiles from Elis, he disbanded his army  
 and returned home himself.

During the rest of the summer and the ensuing  
 winter the country of the Eleans was plundered by  
 Lysippus and the men with him. But in the course 397 B.C.  
 of the following summer Thrasydaeus sent to Lace-  
 daemon and agreed to tear down the walls of Phea

καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι  
 Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμ-  
 φιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ  
 Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Λασιῶνα τὸν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντι-  
 λεγόμενον. Ἦπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν  
 Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἡξίουσι οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔχειν.  
 πρίασθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ  
 τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων,  
 31 καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βία πριαμένους ἢ  
 βία ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων λαμβάνειν,  
 ἀφίεναι καὶ ταύτην ἡνάγκασαν· τοῦ μέντοι προε-  
 στάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ  
 ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπῆλθον αὐτούς,  
 νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιοιμένους χωρίτας εἶναι  
 καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων δὲ συγ-  
 χωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία  
 Ἡλείων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ  
 ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἡλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελ-  
 φούς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν  
 ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη  
 μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτε-  
 λεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον  
 ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει  
 βασιλέα καθιστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας  
 Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγῆ-

and Cyllene, to leave the Triphylian towns of Phrixa 397 B.C. and Epitalium independent, likewise the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians, and besides these the Acrorians and the town of Lasion, which was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans, however, claimed the right to hold Epeum, the town between Heraea and Macistus; for they said that they had bought the whole territory for thirty talents from the people to whom the town at that time belonged, and had paid the money. But the Lacedaemonians, deciding that it was no more just to get property from the weaker by a forced purchase than by a forcible seizure, compelled them to leave this town also independent; they did not, however, dispossess them of the presidency of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, for they thought that the rival claimants<sup>1</sup> were country people and not competent to hold the presidency. When these things had been agreed upon, a peace and an alliance were concluded between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. And so the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleans ended.

III. After this Agis, having gone to Delphi and offered to the god the appointed tithe of his booty, on his way back fell sick at Heraea, being now an old man, and although he was still living when brought home to Lacedaemon, once there he very soon died; and he received a burial more splendid than belongs to man. When the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king, Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, con-

<sup>1</sup> The Pisatans, who had had charge of the Olympic shrine and games up to 580 B.C.

- 2 σίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου·  
 'Ἄλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ'  
 υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν  
 μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ ὥς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ  
 ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; "Οτι ὄν  
 τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἄλλ'  
 ἢ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
 φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδὰν ὥς<sup>1</sup> μάλα σευ ψευδο-  
 μένω κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας  
 σεισμῶ εἰς τὸ φανερόν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνε-  
 μαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος  
 λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἐξ οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγεν ἐκ  
 τῷ θαλάμῳ,<sup>2</sup> δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ'  
 3 ἔλεγον. Διοπίθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ,  
 Λεωτυχίδη συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 χρησμός εἴη φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν.  
 Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντεῖ-  
 πεν ὡς οὐκ οἶοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλά-  
 ξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ  
 μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παν-  
 τάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε  
 4 μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο. τοι-  
 αῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον  
 εἴλοντο βασιλέα.

Οὕτω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγη-  
 σιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ  
 θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> ὡς MSS.: καὶ Kel.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῷ θαλάμῳ Hartman: ἀφ' οὗ γάρ  
 τοι ἔφυσε καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ MSS., which Kel. follows,  
 changing τοι το τυ.

<sup>3</sup> χωλεύσαι MSS.: Kel. inserts after it τὴν βασιλείαν.



tended for the kingship. And Leotychides said: 397 B.C.  
 "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king." "It is I, then, who should be king." "How so, when I am alive?" "Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son." "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am." "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father<sup>1</sup> out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber." Such were the words which passed between these two. But Diopeithes, a man very well versed in oracles, said in support of Leotychides that there was also an oracle of Apollo which bade the Lacedaemonians beware of the lame kingship.<sup>2</sup> Lysander, however, made reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that he did not suppose the god was bidding them beware lest a king of theirs should get a sprain and become lame, but rather lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king. For the kingship would be lame in very truth when it was not the descendants of Heracles who were at the head of the state. After hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus king.

When Agesilaus had been not yet a year in the kingly office, once while he was offering one of the appointed sacrifices in behalf of the state, the seer

<sup>1</sup> Leotychides was reputed to be the son of Alcibiades. For the incident here mentioned cp. Plut. *Alc.* 23. ~~Alcibiades~~

<sup>2</sup> Agesilaus was lame.



ἐπιβουλὴν τινα τῶν δεινοτάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθνευ, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντας, εἶπεν ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτήρσι, καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν

5 τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὖρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς φαίη τὴν πράξιν ἔσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ εἰσαγγείλας ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύοι ὅπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιαταὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὥς τετταράκοντα, ἡρόμην· Τί δὴ με τούτους, ὦ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Τούτους, ἔφη, νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύναι δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνθα μὲν ἓνα, ἔνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἓνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ πολλούς.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. those who enjoyed full rights of citizenship, the "Spartiatæ."

said that the gods revealed a conspiracy of the most terrible sort. And when he sacrificed again, the seer said that the signs appeared still more terrible. And upon his sacrificing for the third time, he said: "Agessilaus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." Thereupon they made offerings to the gods who avert evil and to those who grant safety, and having with difficulty obtained favourable omens, ceased sacrificing. And within five days after the sacrifice was ended a man reported to the ephors a conspiracy, and Cinadon as the head of the affair. This Cinadon was a young man, sturdy of body and stout of heart, but not one of the peers.<sup>1</sup> And when the ephors asked how he had said that the plan would be carried out, the informer replied that Cinadon had taken him to the edge of the market-place and directed him to count how many Spartiatae there were in the market-place.<sup>2</sup> "And I," he said, "after counting king and ephors and senators and about forty others, asked 'Why, Cinadon, did you bid me count these men?' And he replied: 'Believe,' said he, 'that these men are your enemies, and that all the others who are in the market-place, more than four thousand in number, are your allies.'" In the streets also, the informer said, Cinadon pointed out as enemies here one and there two who met them, and all the rest as allies; and of all who chanced to be on the country estates belonging to Spartiatae, while there would be one whom he would point out as an enemy, namely the master, yet there would be many on each

<sup>2</sup> The Spartiatae, always few in number in comparison with the other elements of the Laconian population (see below), were now becoming steadily fewer by reason of constant wars and the demoralising influence of wealth and luxury.

- 6 ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς  
 συνειδότας τὴν πράξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ  
 τούτου ἔφη αὐτὸν ὡς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστα-  
 τεύουσιν οὐ πᾶν πολλοί, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνει-  
 δεῖν· αὐτοὶ μὲντοι πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ  
 εἴλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείωσι καὶ  
 τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος  
 γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύ-  
 πτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.
- 7 πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτῶντων· "Ὅπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν  
 λήψεσθαι<sup>1</sup>; τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δήπου  
 συντεταγμένοι ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ ὅπλα<sup>2</sup> κεκτήμεθα, τῷ  
 δ' ὄχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδείξαι  
 αὐτὸν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ  
 ἀξίνας, πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη  
 ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὅπλα πάντ' εἷη ὁπόσοις ἄνθρωποι  
 καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ ὄργανα ὅπλα  
 ἔχειν ἀρκούντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους.  
 πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα  
 πράττεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελ-  
 μένον εἶη.
- 8 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε  
 λέγειν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ  
 οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέ-  
 ξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος  
 ἄλλοθι ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς  
 Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> After this word Kel. assumes a lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ ὅπλα Sauppe: αὐτοὶ ἔφασάν γε ὅπλα MSS.: αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε δεῖ ὅπλα Kel.

estate named as allies. When the ephors asked how many Cinadon said there really were who were in the secret of this affair, the informer replied that he said in regard to this point that those who were in the secret with himself and the other leaders were by no means many, though trustworthy; the leaders, however, put it this way, that it was they who knew the secret of all the others—Helots, freedmen, lesser Spartiatae, and Perioeci; for whenever among these classes any mention was made of Spartiatae, no one was able to conceal the fact that he would be glad to eat them raw. When the ephors asked again: "And where did they say they would get weapons?" the informer replied that Cinadon said: "Of course those of us who are in the army have weapons of our own, and as for the masses"—he led him, he said, to the iron market, and showed him great quantities of knives, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and sickles. And he said, the informer continued, that all those tools with which men work the land and timber and stone were likewise weapons, and that most of the other industries also had in their implements adequate weapons, especially against unarmed men. When he was asked again at what time this thing was to be done, he said that orders had been given him to stay in the city.

Upon hearing these statements the ephors came to the conclusion that he was describing a well-considered plan, and were greatly alarmed; and without even convening the Little Assembly,<sup>1</sup> as it was called, but merely gathering about them—one ephor here and another there—some of the senators, they decided to send Cinadon to Aulon along with others of the

<sup>1</sup> The reference is uncertain.

- ἤκειν ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δ' ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυ-  
9 τέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλῃν ἐκείνῳ ἐν ἣ γέγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων Ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἵππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμπέμψαι ἐξ ἧ ἐπτά οἱ ἂν τύχωσι παρόντες. ἐμε-  
μελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἵππαγρέτης εἰδεῖη οὓς δέοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖεν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὡς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἓνα ἐκείνον ἔπεμπον.  
10 ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ᾔδεσαν ὅποσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμνῆνται, ἵνα μὴ ἀποδρώσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὥστε καὶ μόραν



younger men, and to order him to bring back with 397 B.C. him certain of the Aulonians and Helots whose names were written in the official dispatch. And they ordered him to bring also the woman who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Aulon and was thought to be corrupting the Lacedaemonians who came there, older and younger alike. Now Cinadon had performed other services of a like sort for the ephors in the past; so this time they gave him the dispatch in which were written the names of those who were to be arrested. And when he asked which of the young men he should take with him, they said: "Go and bid the eldest of the commanders of the guard to send with you six or seven of those who may chance to be at hand." In fact they had taken care that the commander should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should know that it was Cinadon whom they were to arrest. The ephors said this thing besides to Cinadon, that they would send three wagons, so that they would not have to bring back the prisoners on foot—trying to conceal, as far as they could, the fact that they were sending after one man—himself. The reason they did not plan to arrest him in the city was that they did not know how great was the extent of the plot, and they wished to hear from Cinadon who his accomplices were before these should learn that they had been informed against, in order to prevent their escaping. Accordingly, those who made the arrest were to detain Cinadon, and after learning from him the names of his confederates, to write them down and send them back as quickly as possible to the ephors. And so seriously did the ephors regard the matter that they



11 ἱππέων ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰλημμένον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦκεν ἱππεὺς φέρων τὰ ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τὸν τε μάντιν Τισαμενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὥς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο, καὶ ὠμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἔλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἤρουντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Μηδενὸς ἦττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ τῷ χεῖρι καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγουντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

IV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκη ὧν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζόμενας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζο-  
 2 μένων. ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι. ἀνεπτρωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺν περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστήναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δώσι τριάκοντα

even sent a regiment of cavalry to support the men 397 B.C.  
 who had set out for Aulon. When the man had  
 been seized and a horseman had returned with the  
 names of those whom Cinadon had listed, the ephors  
 immediately proceeded to arrest the seer Tisamenus  
 and the most influential of the others. And when  
 Cinadon was brought back and questioned, and con-  
 fessed everything and told the names of his confede-  
 rates, they asked him finally what in the world was  
 his object in undertaking this thing. He replied: "I  
 wished to be inferior to no one in Lacedaemon."  
 Thereupon he was straightway bound fast, neck and  
arms, in a collar, and under scourge and goad was  
 dragged about through the city, he and those with  
 him. And so they met their punishment.

IV. After this a Syracusan named Herodas, being 396 B.C.  
 in Phoenicia with a certain shipowner, and seeing  
 Phoenician war-ships—some of them sailing in from  
 other places, others lying there fully manned, and  
 yet others still making ready for sea—and hearing,  
 besides, that there were to be three hundred  
 of them, embarked on the first boat that sailed  
 to Greece and reported to the Lacedaemonians  
 that the King and Tissaphernes were preparing  
 this expedition; but whither it was bound he said  
 he did not know. Now while the Lacedaemonians  
 were in a state of great excitement, and were gather-  
 ing together their allies and taking counsel as to  
 what they should do, Lysander, thinking that the  
 Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflect-  
 ing that the land force which went up country with  
 Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to  
promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him

- μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελεθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἱ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου.
- 3 ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδοάσιν τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσα περ ἤτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σίτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τὰλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἐκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθα περ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο.
- 4 ὥς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιωτάρχαι ὅτι θύοι, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλεῖστον εἰς Ἐφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.
- 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισ-

<sup>1</sup> In the cities which fell under his control after the battle of Aegospotami Lysander had established oligarchical governments, the supreme power being lodged in a council of ten, corresponding to the "Thirty" at Athens.

thirty Spartiatae, two thousand emancipated Helots, 396 B.C. and a contingent of six thousand of the allies, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies<sup>1</sup> which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government. When Agesilaus offered to undertake the campaign, the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he asked for and provisions for six months. And when he marched forth from the country after offering all the sacrifices which were required, including that at the frontier,<sup>2</sup> he dispatched messengers to the various cities and announced how many men were to be sent from each city, and where they were to report; while as for himself, he desired to go and offer sacrifice at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon had sacrificed before he sailed to Troy. When he had reached Aulis, however, the Boeotarchs,<sup>3</sup> on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered. Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. And when he arrived at Gerastus and had collected there as large a part of his army as he could, he directed his course to Ephesus.

When he reached Ephesus, Tissaphernes at once

<sup>1</sup> Spartan commanders always offered sacrifices to Zeus and Athena before crossing the Laconian frontier.

<sup>2</sup> The presiding officials of the Boeotian League.

- σαφέρνης πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνας δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἄλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. Ἄλλ' ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως<sup>1</sup> σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς
- 6 σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσῃ ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὥμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδα καὶ Δερκυλίδα καὶ Μεγίλλω ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὥμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὁμῶς ἐπέμενε<sup>2</sup> ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
- 7 Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπραττέσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰεὶ παμπληθὴς

<sup>1</sup> ἀδόλως: after this word Kel. and others insert the following: ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ἔξεστι παρ' ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως. <sup>2</sup> ἐπέμενε MSS.: ἐνέμενε Kel.



sent and asked him with what intent he had come. 396 B.C.  
 And he answered: "That the cities in Asia shall be independent, as are those in our part of Greece." In reply to this Tissaphernes said: "Then if you are willing to make a truce until I can send to the King, I think you could accomplish this object and, if you should so desire, sail back home." "Indeed I should so desire," said he, "if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you." "But," said he, "it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce." After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless continued to abide by the truce.

Meanwhile, during the time that Agesilaus was spending in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion—for it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander—and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions; and for this reason a very great crowd was continually



- ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἡκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ιδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμνηγε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἱ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὥς δ' αἰὲν τὰ ἐναντία ὧν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γιννόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἔπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἔτι εἶα ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεομένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔλαττον ἔξοιεν, εἰ αὐτὸς παρείη.
- 9 βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους ἡπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δέ γε αὔξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴτ' αἰσχύνομαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μὴτ' ἐμποδῶν σοι ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι
- 10 εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου,

<sup>1</sup> See § 2 above.

courting and following him, so that Agesilaus appeared to be a man in private station and Lysander king. Now Agesilaus showed afterwards that he also was enraged by these things; but the thirty Spartiatae<sup>1</sup> with him were so jealous that they could not keep silence, but said to Agesilaus that Lysander was doing an unlawful thing in conducting himself more pompously than royalty. When, however, Lysander now began to introduce people to Agesilaus, the king would in every case dismiss, without granting their petitions, those who were known by him to be supported in any way by Lysander. And when Lysander found that the outcome was invariably the opposite of what he desired, he realized how the matter stood; and he no longer allowed a crowd to follow him, while he plainly told those who wanted him to give them any help that they would fare worse if he supported them. But being distressed at his disgrace, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Agesilaus, it seems that you, at least, understand how to humiliate your friends." "Yes, by Zeus, I do," said he, "at any rate those who wish to appear greater than I; but as for those who exalt me, if I should prove not to know how to honour them in return, I should be ashamed." And Lysander said: "Well, perhaps it is indeed true that you are acting more properly than I acted. Therefore grant me this favour at least: in order that I may not be shamed by having no influence with you, and may not be in your way, send me off somewhere. For, wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to be useful to you." When he had thus spoken, Agesilaus also thought it best to follow this course, and he sent him to the Hellespont. There Lysander, upon learning that Spithridates the Persian had suffered a slight at the hands of Pharnabazus,

396 B.C.

διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἵππεις ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἤκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἤσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

- 11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατευματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἅπιοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθесθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχει, ὅτι ἐπιорκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς
- 12 ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἵππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου περιῆγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ

had a conference with him and persuaded him to 396 B.C.  
 revolt, taking with him his children and the money  
 he had at hand and about two hundred horsemen. —  
 And Lysander left everything else at Cyzicus, but  
 put Spithridates himself and his son on board ship  
 and brought them with him to Agesilaus. And  
 when Agesilaus saw them, he was pleased with the  
 exploit, and immediately inquired about the territory  
 and government of Pharnabazus.

Now when Tissaphernes, growing confident because  
 of the army which had come down from the King,  
 declared war upon Agesilaus if he did not depart  
 from Asia, the allies and the Lacedaemonians who  
 were present showed that they were greatly dis-  
 turbed, thinking that the force which Agesilaus had  
 was inferior to the King's array; but Agesilaus, his  
 countenance radiant, ordered the ambassadors to  
 carry back word to Tissaphernes that he felt very  
 grateful to him because, by violating his oath, he had  
 made the gods enemies of his side and allies of the  
 Greeks. Then he straightway gave orders to the  
 soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word  
 to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who  
 marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a  
market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians,  
 Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephe-  
 sus troops which should take part in the campaign.  
 Now Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no  
 cavalry (and Caria was unsuited for cavalry), and be-  
 cause he believed that he was angry with him on  
 account of his treachery, made up his mind that he  
 was really going to march against his own residence  
 in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across  
 into that province, and as for his cavalry, he led it  
 round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that

- ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἵεναι εὐθὺς τὰναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τὰς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς<sup>1</sup> πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκῆτοις παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον
- 13 χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὥς προϊδοιεν τί τᾶμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρῶτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὥρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι.
- 14 ὥς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανείνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαντώσας . . . τὰς: inserted by Valckenaer, whom Kel follows, from *Ages.* i. 16.



he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under 396 B.C.  
 foot with his horsemen before they should reach the  
 regions which were unfit for cavalry. Agesilaus, how-  
 ever, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway  
 turned in the opposite direction and marched towards  
 Phrygia, and he picked up and led along with him the  
 contingents which met him on the march, subdued  
 the cities, and, since he fell upon them unexpectedly,  
 obtained great quantities of booty. Most of the time  
 he pursued his march through the country in safety;  
 but when he was not far from Dascyleium, his horse-  
 men, who were going on ahead of him, rode to the  
 top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by  
 chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the com-  
 mand of Rhathines and Bagaeus, his bastard brother,  
 just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number,  
 had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode  
 to the top of this same hill. And when the two  
 squadrons saw one another, not so much as four  
 plethra<sup>1</sup> apart, at first both halted, the Greek horse-  
 men being drawn up four deep like a phalanx,<sup>2</sup> and  
 the barbarians with a front of not more than twelve,  
 but many men deep. Then, however, the barbarians  
 charged. When they came to a hand-to-hand en-  
counter, all of the Greeks who struck anyone broke  
 their spears, while the barbarians, being armed with  
javelins of cornel-wood, speedily killed twelve men  
 and two horses. Thereupon the Greeks were turned  
 to flight. But when Agesilaus came to the rescue with  
 the hoplites, the barbarians withdrew again and one

<sup>1</sup> The plethrum = c. 100 feet.

<sup>2</sup> The "phalanx" of this period was sometimes four, seldom more than eight, deep. The tendency of later tactics was to increase its depth greatly (*cp.* IV. ii. 18, VI. iv. 12), a tendency which culminated in the famous Macedonian phalanx.



- 15 ἀποθνήσκει. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἵππο-  
μαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ  
προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι  
φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν.  
γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἵππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιοτο,  
οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω  
τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὥς μὴ δραπετεύοντα  
πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ  
πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε·  
προειπὼν δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα  
καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρα-  
τεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράτ-  
τεσθαι ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανού-  
μενον προθύμως ζητοίη.
- 16 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε  
μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἑφέσον· ἀσκήσαι  
δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε  
ὀπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἣτις ἄριστα σωμαμάτων ἔχοι,  
καὶ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς, ἣτις κράτιστα ἵππεύοι· καὶ  
πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν,  
ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανείεν.  
ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα  
μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἵππό-  
δρομον τῶν ἵππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς
- 17 καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ  
ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἦν θέας ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε  
γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἵππων  
καὶ ὀπλων ὠνίων, οἳ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκ-  
τονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ

of them was killed. After this cavalry battle had 396 B.C.  
 taken place and Agesilaus on the next day was offering sacrifices with a view to an advance, the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. This sign having presented itself, he turned and marched to the sea. And perceiving that, unless he obtained an adequate cavalry force, he would not be able to campaign in the plains, he resolved that this must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. Accordingly he assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; and by proclaiming that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, he caused these arrangements to be carried out with all the expedition that was to be expected when men were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead.

After this, when spring was just coming on, he 395 B.C.  
 gathered his whole army at Ephesus; and desiring to train the army, he offered prizes both to the heavy-armed divisions, for the division which should be in the best physical condition, and to the cavalry divisions, for the one which should show the best horsemanship; and he also offered prizes to peltasts and bowmen, for all who should prove themselves best in their respective duties. Thereupon one might have seen all the gymnasia full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of riders, and the javelin-men and bowmen practising. In fact, he made the entire city, where he was staying, a sight worth seeing; for the market was full of all sorts of horses and weapons, offered for sale, and the copper-workers, carpenters, smiths, leather-cutters, and painters were

- ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικά ὄπλα κατεσκευάζον, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οἶεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκείνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβουσιν, τὰ δὲ πολεμικά ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι; ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν ἀλικομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.
- 20 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἑριππίδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοδαμῶδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἑριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὥς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν

all engaged in making martial weapons, so that one might have thought that the city was really a workshop of war. And one would have been encouraged at another sight also—Agesilaus in the van, and after him the rest of the soldiers, returning garlanded from the gymnasia and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in deeds of war, and practise obedience to authority, may we not reasonably suppose that such a place abounds in high hopes? And again, believing that to feel contempt for one's enemies infuses a certain courage for the fight, Agesilaus gave orders to his heralds that the barbarians who were captured by the Greek raiding parties should be exposed for sale naked. Thus the soldiers, seeing that these men were white-skinned because they never were without their clothing, and soft and unused to toil because they always rode in carriages, came to the conclusion that the war would be in no way different from having to fight with women.

Meanwhile the year had now ended since the time when Agesilaus had set sail from Greece, so that Lysander and the thirty Spartiatae sailed back home, and Herippidas with his thirty came as their successors. Of these, Agesilaus assigned Xenocles and one other to the command of the cavalry, Scythes to the command of the Helot hoplites, Herippidas to the Cyreans,<sup>1</sup> and Mygdon to the troops from the allied cities, and he announced to them that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the best parts of the country, his object being to have them begin at once to prepare their bodies

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Greek troops which had served under Cyrus, and now made part of Agesilaus' army. cp. III. i. 6, ii. 7.

- 21 γνώμην παρασκευάζουσιν ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι. ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἵππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθύς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ
- 22 δὲ τετάρτῃ ἤκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν<sup>1</sup> διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολουθούς ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν.
- 23 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γινώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθύς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑψηγείσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ
- 24 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα

<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἡγεμὼν: inserted by most editors from Ages. i. 36. Kel. follows the MSS.



and spirits for the fray. Tissaphernes, however, 395 B.C. thought that he was saying this from a desire to deceive him again, and that this time he would really invade Caria, and accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria, just as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus, however, did not belie his words, but, even as he had announced, marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis. For three days he proceeded through a country bare of enemies, and had provisions for the army in abundance, but on the fourth day the cavalry of the enemy came up. And their commander told the leader of the baggage-train to cross the Pactolus river and encamp, while the horsemen themselves, getting sight of the camp-followers on the side of the Greeks, scattered for plunder, killed a large number of them. On perceiving this Agesilaus ordered his horsemen to go to their aid. And the Persians, in their turn, when they saw this movement, gathered together and formed an opposing line, with very many companies of their horsemen. Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordering the first ten year-classes<sup>1</sup> of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and bidding the peltasts lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them. Now the Persians met the attack of the cavalry; but when the whole formidable

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* II. iv. 32 and the note thereon.



τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν  
εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον.  
οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἰροῦσι καὶ τὸ  
στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί,  
ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησί-  
λαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιε-  
στρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα  
ἐλήφθη, ἃ ἡὔρε πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα,  
καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησί-  
λαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.

- 25 "Οτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν  
Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὧν ὥστε ἡτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι  
προδεδόσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. γνούς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ  
κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην κατα-  
πέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν. τοῦτο  
δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγη-  
σίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· "ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν  
αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει  
τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν  
οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους  
26 οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. ἀπο-  
κριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιή-  
σειε ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἄλλά,  
ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον,  
ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν  
σὸν ἔχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ  
Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὲ τῇ στρα-  
τιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης

array together was upon them, they gave way, and 305 B.C. some of them were struck down at once in crossing the river, while the rest fled on. And the Greeks, pursuing them, captured their camp as well. Then the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus enclosed all alike, friends<sup>1</sup> as well as foes, within the circle of his camp. And not only was much other property captured, which fetched more than seventy talents, but it was at this time that the camels also were captured which Agesilaus brought back with him to Greece.

When this battle took place Tissaphernes chanced to be at Sardis, so that the Persians charged him with having betrayed them. Furthermore, the Persian King himself concluded that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn his affairs were taking, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and cut off his head. After he had done this, Tithraustes sent ambassadors to Agesilaus with this message: "Agesilaus, the man who was responsible for the trouble in your eyes and ours has received his punishment; and the King deems it fitting that you should sail back home, and that the cities in Asia, retaining their independence, should render him the ancient tribute." When Agesilaus replied that he could not do this without the sanction of the authorities at home, Tithraustes said, "But at least, until you receive word from the city, go over into the territory of Pharnabazus, since it is I who have taken vengeance upon your enemy." "Then, until I go there," said Agesilaus, "give me provisions for the army." Tithraustes accordingly gave him thirty talents; and

<sup>1</sup> So that the peltasts might not appropriate to themselves booty which belonged to all in common.

- δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἤει ἐπὶ  
 27 τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ  
 πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι  
 τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκου  
 καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντινα αὐτὸς βού-  
 λοιτο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῷδε  
 λογισμῷ, ὥς εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε  
 πεζὸν πολὺ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἐν οὔσης  
 τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινο-  
 28 μένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔνθα δέοι. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ  
 Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε  
 ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίαις  
 τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὅπόσας ἐκάστη βούλοιτο τῶν  
 πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις  
 ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρί-  
 29 ζεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Πεί-  
 σανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον  
 κατέστησε, φιλότιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν  
 ψυχὴν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς  
 δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ  
 ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ  
 τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.

V. Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν  
 τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως  
 πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ διανοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγά-  
 λας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῶτο τοῖς  
 πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς  
 Ἑλλάδα, δούς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα  
 ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ  
 μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν

he took it and set out for Pharnabazus' province of <sup>395 B.C.</sup> Phrygia. And when he was in the plain which is above Cyme, orders came to him from the authorities at home to exercise command as he thought best over the fleet also, and to appoint as admiral whomsoever he wished. Now the Lacedaemonians did this because they reasoned that if the same man were in command of both army and fleet, the army would be much stronger because the strength of both would be united, and the fleet likewise because the army would appear wherever it was needed. But when Agesilaus heard this, in the first place he sent orders to the cities in the islands and on the coast to build triremes in such numbers as the several cities desired. And the result was new triremes to the number of one hundred and twenty, consisting of those which the cities offered and those which private individuals built out of desire to please Agesilaus. Then he appointed as admiral Peisander, his wife's brother, a man who was ambitious and of a stout spirit, but rather inexperienced in making such provisions as were needful. So Peisander departed and busied himself with naval matters; and Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out.

V. But now Tithraustes, who thought he had found out that Agesilaus despised the power of the King and did not in the least intend to depart from Asia, but rather had great hopes that he would overcome the King, being perplexed to know how to deal with the situation, sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece, giving him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver, and bade him undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the

- ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκείνος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἰσμηνία καὶ Γαλαξιδώρῳ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυάνθῃ, ἐν Ἀργεὶ δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὁμῶς πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζοντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι.<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.
- 3 Γινώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις ἄρξει πολέμον, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα
- 4 ἔλαβον. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὥς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήουν τὴν χώραν, εὐθύς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἡξίουں βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὥς οὐκ ἤρξαντο πολέμον, ἀλλ' ἀμυνό-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν τὸ ἄρχειν εἶναι Laves : τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι MSS., which Kel. retains, though marking a lacuna.



leaders in the various states on condition that they 395 B.C.  
 should make war upon the Lacedaemonians. So  
 Timocrates went and gave his money, at Thebes to  
 Androcleidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth  
 to Timolaus and Polyantes; and at Argos to Cylon  
 and his followers. And the Athenians, even though  
 they did not receive a share of this gold, were never-  
 theless eager for the war, thinking that theirs was  
 the right to rule. Then those who had taken the  
 money set to work in their own states to defame the  
 Lacedaemonians; and when they had brought their  
 people to a feeling of hatred toward them, they  
 undertook, further, to unite the largest states with  
 one another.

But the leading men in Thebes, being aware that  
 unless someone began war the Lacedaemonians would  
 not break the peace with their allies, persuaded the  
 Opuntian Locrians to levy money from the territory  
 which was in dispute between the Phocians and  
 themselves, for they thought that if this was done  
 the Phocians would invade Locris. And they were  
 not disappointed, for the Phocians did at once invade  
 Locris and seize property many times as valuable.  
 Then Androcleidas and his followers speedily per-  
 suaded the Thebans to aid the Locrians, on the  
 ground that the Phocians had invaded, not the  
 disputed territory, but Locris, which was admitted  
 to be a friendly and allied country. And when  
 the Thebans made a counter-invasion into Phocis  
 and laid waste the land, the Phocians straightway  
 sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and asked the Lace-  
 daemonians to aid them, setting forth that they had  
 not begun war, but had gone against the Locrians



- 5 μανοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς. οἱ μέντοι Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον πρόφασιν στρατεύειν  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς  
 τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν  
 Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι  
 ἀκολουθῆσαι. ἦτιῶντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους  
 πείσαι μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ  
 ὡς θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἶων  
 καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ  
 καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστρά-  
 τευον. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι τοῦ  
 ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς  
 αὐτοὺς ὑβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς  
 σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδῶν σφίσιν  
 6 εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον,  
 Λύσανδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέ-  
 λευσαν αὐτούς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρεῖναι  
 καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιᾶς καὶ  
 Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἀλίартον. ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ Πausanias,  
 ὅσπερ ἔμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι  
 εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσαν-  
 δρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα ἔπραττε καὶ  
 7 προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ  
 Πausanias, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ,  
 καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέα τοὺς τε ξεναγοὺς διέπεμπε  
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιώτας περιέ-  
 μενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο  
 ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν

in self-defence. Now the Lacedaemonians were 395 B.C.  
 glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign  
 against the Thebans, for they had long been angry  
 with them both on account of their claiming Apollo's  
 tenth<sup>1</sup> at Decelea and their refusing to follow them  
 against Piraeus.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, they charged them  
 with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join  
 in that campaign. Again, they recalled that they had  
 refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis and  
 had cast from the altar the victims already offered,  
 and that they also would not join Agesilaus for the  
 campaign in Asia. They also reasoned that it was a  
 favourable time to lead forth an army against the  
 Thebans and put a stop to their insolent behaviour  
 toward them; for matters in Asia were in an ex-  
 cellent condition for them, Agesilaus being victorious,  
 and in Greece there was no other war to hinder  
 them. The city of the Lacedaemonians being thus  
 minded, the ephors called out the ban and sent Ly-  
 sander to Phocis with orders to report at Haliartus,  
 bringing with him the Phocians themselves and also  
 the Oetaeans, Heraeleots, Malians, and Aenianians.  
 And Pausanias also, who was to have chief command,  
 agreed to appear at Haliartus on an appointed day,  
 with the troops of the Lacedaemonians and the other  
 Peloponnesians. Now Lysander carried out all his  
 orders and, besides, caused the Orchomenians to revolt  
 from the Thebans. And Pausanias, when his sacrifice  
 at the frontier proved favourable, sent out his officers  
 to muster the allies, and waited for the troops from  
 the outlying towns of Laconia, he meanwhile resting  
 at Tegea. But when it became clear to the Thebans  
 that the Lacedaemonians were going to invade their

<sup>1</sup> i.e. of the spoils of the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>2</sup> *cp.* II. iv. 30.

αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας  
τοιάδε.

- 8 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς  
ψηφισαμένων χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει  
τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις  
ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε  
τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ παρε-  
κάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ,  
τότε ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρα-  
τεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζο-  
μένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι  
9 νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν. πολὺ δ'  
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγένεσθε,  
προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι  
γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς  
ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς  
ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει. ὥστε  
τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὃ δὲ δῆμος  
10 οὐτοσὶ ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες  
Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον  
ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· τοῦτο  
δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ'  
ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν  
ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ  
τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* II. ii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *cp.* II. iv. 30.

land, they sent ambassadors to Athens with the following message: 395 B.C.

“Men of Athens, as regards your complaints against us for having voted for harsh measures toward you at the conclusion of the war,<sup>1</sup> your complaints are not justified; for it was not the state which voted for those measures, but only the one individual who proposed them, a man who chanced at that time to have a seat in the assembly of the allies. But when the Lacedaemonians summoned us to the attack upon Piraeus, then the whole state voted not to join them in the campaign.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, since it is chiefly on your account that the Lacedaemonians are angry with us, we think it is fair that you should aid our state. And we consider it in a far greater degree incumbent upon all those among you who belonged to the city<sup>3</sup> party that you should zealously take the field against the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, after establishing you as an oligarchy and making you objects of hatred to the commons, came with a great force, ostensibly as your allies, and delivered you over to the democrats. Consequently, in so far as it depended upon them, you would certainly have perished, but the commons here saved you. Furthermore, men of Athens, although we all understand that you would like to recover the dominion which you formerly possessed, we ask in what way this is more likely to come to pass than by your aiding those who are wronged by the Lacedaemonians? And do not be afraid because they rule over many, but much rather be of good courage on that account, keeping in mind your own case, that when the sub-

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* II. iv. 11, 24, etc.

πλείστων ἤρχεστε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταίειν, ἔκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέστησαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν  
 11 ἐγίγνωσκον. καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς συνασπιδοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε, ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς.

Ὡς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε δυσμενεῖς  
 12 αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; Ἡλεῖοί γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῖς προσγεγέννηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαρούμενοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετεἶχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἴλωτας ἄρμοστὰς ἀξιούσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ ἠντύχησαν, δεσπόται ἀνα-  
 13 πεφήνασιν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὗς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλὴν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχέκασιν· ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὗς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει. ὃ γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρα-



jects over whom you ruled were the most numerous, 395 B.C.  
 then you had the most enemies. To be sure they  
 concealed their enmity to you so long as they had  
 no one to whom to revolt, but as soon as the Lace-  
 daemonians offered themselves as leaders, then they  
 showed what their feelings were toward you. Even  
 so now, if we and you are found in arms together  
 against the Lacedaemonians, be well assured that  
 those who hate them will appear in full numbers.

“That we speak truth you will see at once if you  
 consider the matter. For who is now left that is  
 friendly to them? Have not the Argives been hostile  
 to them from all time? And now the Eleans, whom  
 they have robbed of much territory and many cities,  
 have been added to the number of their enemies.  
 As for the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achaeans,  
 what shall we say of them, who in the war against  
 you, at the earnest entreaty of the Lacedaemonians,  
 bore a share of all hardships and perils and expenses;  
 but when the Lacedaemonians had accomplished  
 what they desired, what dominion or honour or what  
 captured treasure did they ever share with them?  
 Nay, it is their Helots whom they deem it proper to  
 appoint as governors, while toward their allies, who  
 are free men, they have behaved themselves like  
 masters since they have achieved success. Further-  
 more, it is plain that they have deceived in like  
 manner the peoples whom they won away from you;  
 for instead of freedom they have given them a double  
 servitude—they are under the tyrant rule both of  
 the governors and of the decarchies which Lysander  
 established in each city. Take the King of Asia also  
 —although his contributions helped them most to  
 win the victory over you, what better treatment



- τῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ὑμῶν  
 14 κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἔαν  
 ὑμεῖς αὖ προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικου-  
 μένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πώποτε  
 γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχεστε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν μόνον δήπου ἡγείσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν  
 καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχεστε καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος  
 ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἡμεν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι  
 καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν  
 δέ γε εἰκός τῳ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέως ὑμῖν συμ-  
 μαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἄλλο-  
 τρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδι-  
 15 κουμένων βοηθήσομεν. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρή εὖ  
 εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ  
εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρ-  
 χῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων  
 ἤρχεστε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίων  
 ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὀπλισμένων πλεον-  
 εκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι  
 ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμε-  
 τέρα πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.
- 16 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθη-  
 ναίων πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ'  
 ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ  
 ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο,  
 ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρα-

is he now receiving than if he had joined with you 395 B.C.  
 and subdued them? How, then, can it be doubtful that if you in your turn offer yourselves as leaders of those who are so manifestly wronged, you will now become by far the greatest of all the states that have ever been? For at the time when you held dominion you were the leaders, you recall, of those only who dwelt on the sea; but now you would become the leaders of all alike—of ourselves, of the Peloponnesians, of those whom you formerly ruled, and of the King himself with his vast power. And we certainly were valuable allies to the Lacedaemonians, as you so well know; but now we can be expected to support you altogether more stoutly than we supported the Lacedaemonians then; for it is by no means on behalf of islanders or Syracusans, or in fact of any alien people, that we shall be lending our aid as we were then, but on behalf of our own injured selves. And this also is to be well understood, that the selfishly acquired dominion of the Lacedaemonians is far easier to destroy than the empire which was once yours. For you had a navy and ruled over men who had none, while they, being few, arrogate to themselves dominion over men who are many times their number and are fully as well armed. This, then, is our proposal; but be well assured, men of Athens, that we believe we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for our own."

With these words he ceased speaking. But as for the Athenians, very many spoke in support of him and they voted unanimously to aid the Thebans. And Thrasybulus, after giving the ambassadors the decree for an answer, pointed out also that, although Piraeus was without walls, they would nevertheless brave the

- κινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχοῦμεθα ἐκεί-  
 17 νοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Πausanίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσαν-  
 δρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκείνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν  
 18 Πausanίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος. ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαί-  
 μονος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἦει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπει-  
 θεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει  
 19 διεκώλυνον, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἀκού-  
 σαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον· τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίω-  
 20 κον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι. ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στένοπορία ὑπε-

danger of repaying to the Thebans a greater favour 395 B.C. than they had received. "For whereas you," he said, "did not join in the campaign against us, we are going to fight along with you against them, in case they march upon you." So the Thebans went away and made preparations for defending themselves, and the Athenians for aiding them. And in fact the Lacedaemonians did not longer delay, but Pausanias the king marched into Boeotia with the troops from home and those from Peloponnesus except the Corinthians, who refused to accompany them. And Lysander, at the head of the army from Phocis, Orchomenus, and the places in that region, arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. Having arrived, he did not keep quiet and wait for the army from Lacedaemon, but went up to the wall of the Haliartians with the troops which he had. And at first he tried to persuade them to revolt from the Thebans and become independent; but when some of the Thebans, who were within the wall, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the wall. And on hearing of this the Thebans came on the run to the rescue, both hoplites and cavalry. Whether it was that they fell upon Lysander unawares, or that he saw them coming and nevertheless stood his ground in the belief that he would be victorious, is uncertain; but this at any rate is clear, that the battle took place beside the wall; and a trophy stands at the gates of the Haliartians. Now when Lysander had been killed and his troops were fleeing to the mountain, the Thebans pursued stoutly. But when they had reached the heights in their pursuit and came upon rough country and narrow ways, the hoplites of the enemy

λάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὀπλῖται ἡκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὥς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.

- 21 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἵκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τούτου μείζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Πausanίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγούντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπὴν τε καὶ
- 22 ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὃ τε Πausanίας οὐ προσήγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μείζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ Πausanίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τὸν τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόν-
- 23 τας. λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Πausanίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς εἶη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύ-



turned about and threw javelins and other missiles upon them. And when two or three of them who were in the van had been struck down, and the enemy began to roll stones down the hill upon the rest and to attack them with great spirit, the Thebans were driven in flight from the slope, and more than two hundred of them were killed. 395 B.C.

On this day, therefore, the Thebans were despondent, thinking that they had suffered losses no less severe than those they had inflicted; on the following day, however, when they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes, then they began to be more elated over their exploit. But when, on the other hand, Pausanias appeared with the army from Lacedaemon, they again thought that they were in great danger, and, by all accounts, there was deep silence and despondency in their army. When, however, on the next day the Athenians arrived and formed in line of battle with them, while Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle, then the elation of the Thebans increased greatly; as for Pausanias, he called together the commanders of regiments and of fifties, and took counsel with them as to whether he should join battle or recover by means of a truce the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him. Accordingly Pausanias and the other Lacedaemonians who were in authority, considering that Lysander was dead and that the army under his command had been defeated and was gone, while the Corinthians had altogether refused to accompany them and those who had come<sup>1</sup> were not serving with any spirit;

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the other Peloponnesians (cp. § 17 above).



μως στρατεύονται· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν  
 ὥς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον  
 εἶη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει  
 ἔκειντο, ὥστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὔσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πύργων ῥάδιον εἶη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα  
 ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους  
 24 ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν  
 ἀποδοῖεν<sup>1</sup> τοὺς νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ᾧτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ  
 τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν καὶ  
 ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας.  
 τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς,  
 εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν χωρίων του ἐπιβαίῃ, παίον-  
 τες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ  
 25 στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. ὁ μέντοι  
 Πανσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ  
 θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστε-  
ρήσειεν εἰς Ἀλάρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος  
 εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπο-  
 σπόνδους ἄλλ' οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειράτο τοὺς νεκροὺς  
 ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ  
 παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη·  
 καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι  
 ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταύτ'  
 ἐπράχθη.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοῖεν MSS. except B: ὑποδοῖεν B, followed by Kel.

considering also the matter of horsemen, that the enemy's were numerous while their own were few, and, most important of all, that the bodies lay close up to the wall, so that even in case of victory it would not be easy to recover them on account of the men upon the towers—for all these reasons they decided that it was best to recover the bodies under a truce. The Thebans, however, said that they would not give up the dead except on condition that the Lacedaemonians should depart from their country. The Lacedaemonians welcomed these conditions, and were ready, after taking up their dead, to depart from Boeotia. When this had been done, the Lacedaemonians marched off despondently, while the Thebans behaved most insolently—in case a man trespassed never so little upon anyone's lands, chasing him back with blows into the roads. Thus it was that this campaign of the Lacedaemonians came to its end. But when Pausanias reached home he was brought to trial for his life. He was charged with having arrived at Haliartus later than Lysander, though he had agreed to reach there on the same day, with having recovered the bodies of the dead by a truce instead of trying to recover them by battle, and with having allowed the Athenian democrats to escape when he had got them in his power in Piraeus;<sup>1</sup> and since, besides all this, he failed to appear at the trial, he was condemned to death. And he fled to Tegea, and there died a natural death. These, then, were the events which took place in Greece.

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* II. iv. 29-39.



## BOOK IV

# Δ

- Ι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἄμα μετο-  
 πώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν  
 χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βία,  
 2 τὰς δ' ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ  
 Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν  
 σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς  
 λόγους ἄξιοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως  
 ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι  
 τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν  
 Ὅτυς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλού-  
 μενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος  
 δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ  
 Ὅτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελ-  
 4 ταστάς. χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ  
 Σπιθριδάτῃ· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ  
 ἂν δοίης Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολύ γε, ἔφη,  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασι-  
 λεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε  
 5 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ Ὅτυς ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησί-  
 λαον ἀσπασόμενος. ἤρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος  
 παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν

## BOOK IV

I. Now when Agesilaus<sup>1</sup> arrived, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender. And when Spithridates said that if he would come to Paphlagonia with him, he would bring the king of the Paphlagonians to a conference and make him an ally, Agesilaus eagerly undertook the journey, since this was a thing he had long desired—to win some nation away from the Persian King. 395 B.C.

Upon his arriving in Paphlagonia, Otys came and concluded an alliance; for he had been summoned by the Persian King and had refused to go up to him. He also, by the persuasion of Spithridates, left behind for Agesilaus a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts. And Agesilaus, feeling grateful to Spithridates for these things, said to him: "Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?" "Far more willingly," said he, "than he would accept her, the daughter of an exile, while he is lord of a great land and power." So at that time nothing more was said about the marriage. But when Otys was about to depart, he came to Agesilaus to bid him farewell. Then Agesilaus began conversation with him in the presence of the thirty

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* III. iv. 29.



- ¶ Σπιθριδάτην· Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, ποίου  
τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι  
Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη,  
ἐόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστι; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω;  
καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου  
μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι.
- 7 Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, καλὴ γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ ἐγὼ  
μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγέννησαι, συμβου-  
λεύοιμ' ἂν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα, καλ-  
λίστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ ἡδίων; πατρὸς δ'  
εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, ὅς  
ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν  
ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὀρᾷς, πεποίη-  
8 κεν. εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκείνουν  
ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον  
ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν ἂν δύναίτο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων  
πραχθέντων μῆκεῖνον ἂν σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν  
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαι-  
μονίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν  
9 ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα. καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοτέρως γε σοῦ,  
εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἂν ποτε γήμειε; ποίαν  
γὰρ νύμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἵππεῖς καὶ πελ-  
τασταὶ καὶ ὀπλῖται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν  
10 γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν; καὶ ὁ  
Ὅτυς ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε,  
ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς,  
ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέ-

Spartiatæ,<sup>1</sup> after asking Spithridates to withdraw. 395 B.C.  
 "Tell me," he said, "Otys, to what sort of a family does Spithridates belong?" Otys replied that he was inferior in rank to no one of all the Persians. "And have you noticed his son," said Agesilaus, "how handsome he is?" "To be sure I have; for I dined with him last evening." "They say his daughter is handsomer than the son." "Yes, by Zeus," said Otys, "she certainly is beautiful." "And I," said he, "since you have become a friend of ours, should like to advise you to take the girl as your wife, for she is very beautiful—and what is more pleasant to a husband than that?—and the daughter of a father very well born and possessed of so great power, a man who, when wronged by Pharnabazus, takes such vengeance upon him that he has, as you see, made him an exile from his whole country. Be well assured, moreover," he said, "that even as he is able to take vengeance upon Pharnabazus, an enemy, so he would also be able to benefit a friend. I ask you also to take into consideration that, if this plan should be carried out, it would not be he alone that would be a connexion of yours, but I too and the rest of the Lacedaemonians, and, since we are the leaders of Greece, the rest of Greece as well. And further, if you should do this, who could possibly have a more magnificent wedding than you? For what bride was ever escorted by so many horsemen and peltasts and hoplites as would escort your wife to your house?" And Otys asked, "But is this," said he, "which you are proposing, Agesilaus, pleasing to Spithridates also?" "By the gods," said Agesilaus, "it was not he that bade me say this;

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* III. iv. 20.

- λευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ ὑπερ-  
χαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον  
μοι δοκῶ ἡδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν  
11 ἐξευρίσκω. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνῃ εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ  
βουλομένῳ ταύτ' ἐστί; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἴτ',  
ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν  
12 βουλευθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀναστάντες  
ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον· Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ  
Ὅτν, καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν; Πολύ γ'  
ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὑπὸ  
τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐκάλει ὁ  
Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.  
13 προσιόντων δ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν  
ἄλλα, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἂν τις μακρο-  
λογοίῃ; τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν  
14 ἂν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοὶ δοκοίῃ. Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη,  
δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, τύχῃ  
ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμ-  
βάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἡρος οὐκ ἂν  
δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη  
ὁ Ὅτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺν  
15 βούλοις. ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες  
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὅτυν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν  
σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν Λακε-  
δαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς  
ἐπὶ Δασκυλείῳ ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασί-  
λεια ἦν Φαρναβάζω, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ  
καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,

but I for my own part, even though I rejoice exceedingly when I punish an enemy, believe that I am far more pleased when I discover some good thing for my friends." "Why, then," said he, "do you not find out whether this is pleasing to him also?" And Agesilaus said: "Herippidas, do you men all go and persuade him to desire the same things that we do." So they went and set about persuading him. And when they had spent some time away, Agesilaus said: "Do you wish, Otys, that we should call him in and talk with him ourselves?" "I do think that he would be far more likely to be persuaded by you than by all the rest put together." Thereupon Agesilaus called in both Spithridates and the others. And as soon as they came in, Herippidas said: "Why, Agesilaus, need one make a long story about all that was said? The upshot of it is that Spithridates says he would be glad to do anything that you think best." "Well, then," said Agesilaus, "I think it best that you, Spithridates, should give your daughter to Otys—and may good fortune attend upon the deed—and that you, Otys, should accept her. But we could not fetch the girl by land before spring." "But, by Zeus," said Otys, "she could be sent by sea at once, if you so desired." Thereupon they gave and received pledges to ratify this agreement, and so sent Otys on his way,

And Agesilaus, being now assured that Otys was eager, immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias the Lacedaemonian to fetch the girl, while he set off himself for Dascyleium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provi-

## XENOPHON

- καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παρα-  
 δείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγ-  
 16 καλαι. παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν  
 ἰχθύων πλήρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα  
 τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διε-  
 χείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ  
 17 ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. καταφρονη-  
 τικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν  
 πρότερον ἐσφάλλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιω-  
 τῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος  
 κατὰ τὸ πεδίου ἐσπαρμένοις, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχων  
 δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἱππέας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίους.  
 18 οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα,  
 συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλ-  
 λησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἄρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ  
 σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ὀπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν  
 19 εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ τὰ ἄρματα ἐμβα-  
 λόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἄθρόον, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς  
 κατέβαλον ὡς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι  
 κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε  
 σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὢν.  
 20 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αἰ-  
 σθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν  
 Καυῇ κώμῃ μεγάλῃ στρατοπεδευόμενον, ἀπέ-  
 χοντα στάδια ὡς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ  
 21 εὐθύς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. καὶ ὁ Ἡριπ-  
 πίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ  
 τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὀπλίτας τε εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ  
 πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἱππέας τοὺς  
 τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν  
 22 Ἑλλήνων ὁπόσους πείσειεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπέσχετο

## HELLENICA, IV. 1. 15-22

sions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks, others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions. But on one occasion, while the soldiers were getting their provisions in disdainful and careless fashion, because they had not previously met with any mishap, Pharnabazus came upon them, scattered as they were over the plain, with two scythe-bearing chariots and about four hundred horsemen. Now when the Greeks saw him advancing upon them, they ran together to the number of about seven hundred; Pharnabazus, however, did not delay, but putting his chariots in front, and posting himself and the horsemen behind them, he gave orders to charge upon the Greeks. And when the chariots dashed into the close-gathered crowd and scattered it, the horsemen speedily struck down about a hundred men, while the rest fled for refuge to Agesilaus; for he chanced to be near at hand with the hoplites.

On the third or fourth day following this incident, Spithridates learned that Pharnabazus was encamped in a large village named Caue, about one hundred and sixty stadia away, and at once told Herippidas. And Herippidas, eager to achieve a brilliant exploit, asked from Agesilaus hoplites to the number of two thousand, as many peltasts, and for horsemen, those of Spithridates, the Paphlagonians, and as many of the Greeks as he could persuade to join him. When Agesilaus had promised him

395 B.C.



# XENOPHON

- αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἅμα δείλη καλλιερησάμενος  
κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαν-  
τας παρήγγειλε παρῆναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατο-  
πέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένου οὐδ' οἱ ἡμίσεις  
23 ἐκάστων ἐξῆλθον. ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέ-  
ποιτο, καταγελῶεν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα,  
24 ἐπορεύετο σὺν ἧ εἶχε δυνάμει. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν  
προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄντων πολλοὶ ἔπесον,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλί-  
σκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ  
οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύη  
25 πολλὰ καὶ ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα. διὰ γὰρ τὸ  
φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἰ που κατασταίῃ, κυκλωθεὶς  
πολιορκοῖτο, ἄλλοτε ἄλλη τῆς χώρας ἐπῆει,  
ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα ἀφανίζων τὰς στρα-  
26 τοπεδεύσεις.<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα  
ἀπηγαγον οἱ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης,  
ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγούς  
ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα τὸν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς  
Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμά-  
27 λωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι ταῦτα  
παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀδικηθέντες καὶ  
ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι ὄχοντο  
ἀπιδύοντες εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες,  
ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμη-

<sup>1</sup> § 25 as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts it between §§ 17 and 18.

these troops Herippidas proceeded to sacrifice; and towards evening he obtained favourable omens and terminated his sacrifice. Thereupon he gave orders to his men to get their dinner, and then report in front of the camp. But by the time darkness had come on, not so much as the half of the several detachments had come out. However, in order that the rest of the thirty Spartiatae might not laugh at him, as they would if he gave up his plan, he set out with the force that he had. And when at day-break he fell upon the encampment of Pharnabazus, many of his outposts, who were Mysians, were slain, the troops themselves scattered in flight, and the camp was captured, and with it many drinking-cups and other articles such as a man like Pharnabazus would naturally have, and besides these things a great deal of baggage and many baggage animals. For through fear that, if he took up a fixed position anywhere, he would be surrounded and besieged, Pharnabazus kept going first to one and then to another part of the country, even as the nomads do, very carefully concealing his encampments. Now when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates had brought in the property they had captured, Herippidas posted commanders of divisions and companies to intercept them, and took everything away from both Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, merely in order that he might have a great quantity of booty to turn in to the officials who sold it. They, however, would not stand being so treated, but, feeling that they had been wronged and dishonoured, packed up and went off during the night to Ariaeus at Sardis, putting their trust in Ariaeus because he also had revolted from the

- 28 σεν αὐτῷ. Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.
- 29 Ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, ὃς καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὢν καὶ Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὗτος οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς οἶοιτο συναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας
- 30 Φαρνάβαζον. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σποινδὰς λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκεείμενον χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαὶ ἐν πόᾳ τινὶ κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑποτιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτία, ἐφ' ὧν καθίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ἤσχυνθη ἐντρυφῆσαι, ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν φανλότητα· κατεκλίθη
- 31 οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἔπειτα τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπρούτεινε καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἥρξατο λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος·
- 32 Ὡς Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολε-

King and made war upon him.<sup>1</sup> And nothing hap- 395 A.C.  
 pened during the campaign which was more distress-  
 ing to Agesilaus than the desertion of Spithridates,  
 Megabates,<sup>2</sup> and the Paphlagonians.

Now there was a certain Apollophanes of Cyzicus  
 who chanced to be an old friend of Pharnabazus  
 and at that time had become a friend of Agesilaus  
 also. This man, accordingly, said to Agesilaus that  
 he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a confer-  
 ence with him in regard to establishing friendly  
 relations. And when Agesilaus heard what he had  
 to say, Apollophanes, after obtaining a truce and a  
 pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place  
 which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and  
 the thirty Spartiatae with him were lying on the  
 ground in a grassy spot awaiting them; Pharnabazus,  
 however, came in a dress which was worth much  
 gold. But when his attendants were proceeding to  
 spread rugs beneath him, upon which the Persians  
 sit softly, he was ashamed to indulge in luxury,  
 seeing as he did the simplicity of Agesilaus; so he  
 too lay down on the ground without further ado.  
 And first they gave each other greeting, then  
 Pharnabazus held out his right hand and Agesilaus  
 held out his to meet it. After this Pharnabazus  
 began speaking,—for he was the elder:

“Agesilaus and all you Lacedaemonians who are  
 present, I became your friend and ally at the time  
 when you were at war with the Athenians, and not  
 only did I make your fleet strong by providing  
 money, but on the land I myself fought on horseback  
 with you and drove your enemies into the sea.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As described in the *Anabasis*.      <sup>2</sup> Son of Spithridates.

<sup>3</sup> *cp.* 1. i. 6, 24, 25, etc.

- μίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν  
 πώποτε μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς  
 33 ὑμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἂν κατηγορῆσαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ γενό-  
 μενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὥς οὐδὲ  
 δεῖπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἑμαντοῦ χώρα, εἰ μὴ τι ὦν ἂν  
 ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἂ δέ  
 μοι ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους  
 καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ'  
 οἷς ἡνῦφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν κατα-  
 κεκομμένα τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ  
 γιγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὴ  
 διδάξατέ με ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιστα-  
 μένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.
- 34 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν  
 ἐπὶ ἡσυχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησί-  
 λαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' οἶμαι μὲν σε, ὦ  
 Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς  
 πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίνονται ἄνθρωποι. οὗτοι  
 δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιοι γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς  
 πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καί, ἂν  
 οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους.  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦν-  
 τες πάντα ἠναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου πολέμια νομί-  
 ζειν· σοί γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν
- 35 ποιησαίμεθα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαί σε ἔδει ἀντὶ  
 δεσπότης βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότης, οὐκ ἂν ἐγωγέ  
 σοι συνεβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν  
 γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην  
 ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύ-  
 θερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν
- 36 πάντων χρημάτων. οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύο-  
 μεν, πένητα μὲν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν

And you cannot accuse me, as you accused Tissa- 395 B.C.  
phernes, of any double-dealing toward you at any  
time, either in deed or word. Such a friend I proved  
myself, and now I am brought to such a pass by you  
that I have not so much as a meal in my own land  
unless, like the beasts, I pick up a bit of what you  
may leave. And the beautiful dwellings and parks,  
full of trees and wild animals, which my father left  
me, in which I took delight,—all these parks I see  
cut down, all these dwellings burned to the ground.  
If it is I that do not understand either what is  
righteous or what is just, do you teach me how  
these are the deeds of men who know how to repay  
favours."

Thus he spoke. And all the thirty Spartiatae were  
filled with shame before him and fell silent; but  
Agesilaus at length said: "I think you know, Phar-  
nabazus, that in the Greek states, also, men become  
guest-friends of one another. But these men, when  
their states come to war, fight with their fatherlands  
even against their former friends, and, if it so chance,  
sometimes even kill one another. And so we to-day,  
being at war with your king, are constrained to regard  
all that is his as hostile; as for yourself, however, we  
should prize it above everything to become friends  
of yours. And if it were an exchange that you had  
to make, from the King as master to us as masters, I  
for my part should not advise you to make the  
exchange; but in fact it is within your power by —  
joining with us to live in the enjoyment of your posses-  
sions without doing homage to anyone or having  
any master. And being free is worth, in my opinion,  
as much as all manner of possessions. Yet it is  
not this that we urge upon you, to be free and poor,



συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἴης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνας ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι;

37 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνωμαι ἅπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάτῃ,—τοιούτῳ τι, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστίν—εὖ χρή εἰδέναι ὅτι

38 πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὦ λῶστε σύ, τοιούτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἐν δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἄπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, κὰν πόλεμος ᾗ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.

39 Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπῆει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπίτας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἔτι ὢν, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ προσδραμών· Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιούμεαι. Ἐγὼ δέ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησό νυν, ἔφη. καὶ εὐθύς τὸ παλτόν—εἶχε δὲ καλόν—ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως παγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετεδίωκε

but rather by employing us as allies to increase, not the King's empire, but your own, subduing those who are now your fellow-slaves so that they shall be your subjects. And if, being free, you should at the same time become rich, what would you lack of being altogether happy?"

"Shall I, then," said Pharnabazus, "tell you frankly just what I shall do?" "It surely becomes you to do so." "Well, then," said he, "if the King sends another as general and makes me his subordinate, I shall choose to be your friend and ally; but if he assigns the command to me,—so strong, it seems, is the power of ambition—you may be well assured that I shall war upon you to the best of my ability." Upon hearing these words Agesilaus grasped his hand and said: "O that you, noble sir, a man of such a spirit, may come to be our friend. But at least," he said, "be assured of one thing, that now I am going away from your land as speedily as I can, and in the future, even if war continues, we shall withhold our hands from you and yours so long as we can turn our attack against another."

With these words he broke up the meeting. And Pharnabazus mounted his horse and rode away, but his son by Parapita, who was still in the bloom of youth, remaining behind, ran up to Agesilaus and said to him: "Agesilaus, I make you my guest-friend." "And I accept your friendship." "Remember, then," he said. And immediately he gave his javelin—it was a beautiful one—to Agesilaus. And he, accepting it, took off and gave to the boy in return a splendid trapping which Idæus, his secretary, had round his horse's neck. Then the boy leaped upon his horse and followed after his father.

40 τὸν πατέρα. ὥς δ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀπο-  
δημία ἀποστερῶν ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα  
ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας υἱόν, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ὁ  
'Αγησίλαος ἐπεμελείτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρασθέντος  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκου υἱέος 'Αθηναίου, πάντ'  
ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκείνον ἐγκριθεῖη τὸ στάδιον  
ἐν 'Ολυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.

41 Καὶ τότε δὴ, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον,  
εὐθὺς ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ  
ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπέφαινε. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θήβης  
πεδῖον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αστυ-  
ρηνῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε  
συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν παμπληθὲς στράτευμα.  
παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὥς δύναίτο  
ἀνωτάτῳ, νομίζων ὅποσα ὀπισθεν ποιήσαιο ἔθνη  
πάντα ἀποστήσειν βασιλέως.

II. 'Αγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθοντο τὰ τε χρήματα  
ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πό-  
λεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν  
κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρατεύειν  
2 ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἶναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα  
παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αγησίλαον  
πέμπουσιν 'Επικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τὰ τε  
ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὥς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι  
3 αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὥς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. ὁ δὲ  
'Αγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ᾔνεγκεν,  
ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἶων τιμῶν καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων

<sup>1</sup> The stadium, or two hundred yards' dash, was a race for men and Eualces' son was too young to be eligible, but his unusual height told in his favour. <sup>2</sup> cp. III. v. 1.

And afterwards, when his brother had deprived the son of Parapita of his domain during the absence of Pharnabazus, and had made him an exile, Agesilaus not only cared for him in every way, but in particular, since he had become enamoured of the son of Eualces an Athenian, made every effort for his sake to have Eualces' son, inasmuch as he was taller than any of the other boys, admitted to the stadium race at Olympia.<sup>1</sup> 395 B.C.

So at that time Agesilaus immediately marched off out of the territory of Pharnabazus, just as he had told him he would; besides, spring was now almost at hand. And upon arriving in the plain of Thebe he encamped near the shrine of Artemis of Astyra, and there gathered together from all quarters a very great army in addition to that which he had. For he was preparing to march as far as he could into the interior, thinking that he would detach from the King all the nations which he could put in his rear. 394 B.C.

II. Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. But the Lacedaemonians at home, when they found out definitely that the money<sup>2</sup> had come to Greece, and that the largest states had united for war against them, believed that their state was in danger, and thought that it was necessary to undertake a campaign. And while themselves making preparations for this, they also immediately sent Epicydidas to fetch Agesilaus. And when Epicydidas arrived in Asia, he told Agesilaus the general condition of affairs, and that the state bade him come as speedily as possible to the aid of his fatherland. Now when Agesilaus heard this, although he was disturbed, considering what honours and what

ἀπεστερεῖτο,<sup>1</sup> ὁμῶς δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμά-  
 χους ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλό-  
 μενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ  
 πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ  
 ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ  
 ἐπιλάβωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξων  
 4 ὧν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ  
 μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν  
 μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς  
 τὰ κεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἤκειν εἰς  
 5 τὴν Ἀσίαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὥς  
 ἀκολουθήσουντες. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ  
 κατέλιπεν Εὐξενον ἄρμοστὴν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ'  
 αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύνηται  
 διασώζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ'  
 Ἑλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὥς βελτί-  
 στους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἄθλα  
 προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἣτις ἄριστον στράτευμα  
 πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις  
 εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὀπλι-  
 τῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ  
 τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλο-  
 τάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὥς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον  
 6 δώσων. τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ δια-  
 βαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερ-  
 ρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατενο-  
 7 μένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἄθλα τὰ μὲν  
 πλείστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ  
 ὀπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικὰ· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι

<sup>1</sup> ἀπεστερεῖτο BMDV: ἀποστερεῖτο F: ἀποστεροῖτο C, fol-  
 lowed by Kel.



hopes he was deprived of, nevertheless, calling 394 B.C.  
together the allies, he made known to them what  
the state commanded, and said that it was necessary  
to go to the aid of the fatherland. "But if those  
matters turn out successfully, be well assured, my  
allies," he said, "that I shall not forget you, but  
shall return again to accomplish the things which  
you desire." Upon hearing this many burst into tears,  
but they all voted to go with Agesilaus to the aid of  
Lacedaemon, resolved, if matters there should turn  
out successfully, to bring him back again with them  
to Asia. Accordingly they made preparations to  
follow with him. As for Agesilaus, he left behind  
him in Asia Euxenus as governor, and with him a  
garrison of not less than four thousand men, so that  
he could keep the cities safe; and seeing that most  
of his own soldiers were more desirous of remaining  
than of undertaking a campaign against Greeks, in  
the desire to lead with him the best men and as many  
as possible he offered prizes to the cities, for the  
one which should send the best force, and to the  
captains of the mercenaries, for the one who should  
join the expedition with the best equipped company  
of hoplites, of bowmen, and of peltasts. He like-  
wise announced to the commanders of cavalry that  
he would also give a prize of victory to the one who  
should furnish the best mounted and best equipped  
battalion. And he said that he would make the de-  
cision in the Chersonese, when they had crossed from  
Asia to Europe, his purpose being to let them under-  
stand thoroughly that they must select their troops  
with care. As for the prizes, most of them were  
beautifully wrought arms, both for hoplites and for  
horsemen; there were also wreaths of gold, and the



- χρυσοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἄθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων, παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς  
 8 τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππίδας καὶ Ὀρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.
- 9 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ γένους ὄντα καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγείσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν  
 10 μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιντο.
- 11 Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἰόνπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. οἳ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίνωνται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ρεῦμα ποιοῦσι,  
 12 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνον εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμαχώτεροι γίνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὅποσοι σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους· ἐὰν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ

prizes all told cost not less than four talents. As a 394 B.C. result, however, of the expending of this sum, arms worth a vast sum of money were provided for the army. And when he had crossed the Hellespont, Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus were appointed as judges from the side of the Lacedaemonians, and from that of the allies one from each city. Then Agesilaus, after he had made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route which the Persian king<sup>1</sup> followed when he made his expedition against Greece.

Meanwhile the ephors called out the ban; and since Agesipolis<sup>2</sup> was still a boy, the state commanded Aristodemus, who was of the royal family and the boy's guardian, to lead the army. Now when the Lacedaemonians were marching forth and their enemies had gathered together, the latter met and took counsel as to how they might fight the battle with the greatest advantage to themselves. Then Timolaus of Corinth spoke as follows: "It seems to me," he said, "fellow allies, that the case of the Lacedaemonians is much the same as that of rivers. For rivers at their sources are not large, but easy to cross, yet the farther on they go, other rivers empty into them and make their current stronger; and just so the Lacedaemonians, at the place whence they come forth, are alone by themselves, but as they go on and keep attaching the cities to them, they become more numerous and harder to fight against. Again, I see," he said, "that all who wish to destroy wasps, in case they try to capture the wasps as they issue forth, are stung by many of them; but if they apply the fire while the wasps are still in their nests,

<sup>1</sup> Xerxes.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Pausanias; cp. III. v. 25.

- προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους  
 δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι  
 κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή,  
 ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεί-  
 σθαι. δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο  
 13 ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο  
 καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι  
 πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς  
 φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς  
 πολεμίους παρέχοιεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρείληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας  
 14 ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλῳν. καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν  
 τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ  
 ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ  
 Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπι-  
 εΐκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλ-  
 λοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν  
 15 οἱ γυμνήτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων. ὥς δὲ κατέβησαν  
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου,  
 τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι  
 μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπρο-  
 σθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες  
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπείχον τῶν  
 πολεμίων, κακῆνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι  
 ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.
- 16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἐκατέρων. συνε-  
 λέγησαν γὰρ ὀπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Argolic Gulf.

they suffer no harm and subdue the wasps. Con- 394 B.C.  
sidering these things, therefore, I believe it is best  
to fight the battle in Lacedaemon itself if possible,  
but if not, as near there as we can." Since it was  
thought that his advice was good, they voted for  
this course. But while they were negotiating about  
the leadership and trying to come to an agreement  
with one another as to the number of ranks in  
depth in which the whole army should be drawn up,  
in order to prevent the states from making their  
phalanxes too deep and thus giving the enemy a  
chance of surrounding them,—meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, having already picked up the Tegeans  
and Mantineans, were on their outward march, taking  
the road along the sea-shore.<sup>1</sup> And as the two armies  
marched on, the Corinthians and their allies were in  
the district of Nemea, and the Lacedaemonians and  
their allies at Sicyon, at almost the same time.  
Now when the latter had made their entry into  
Corinthian territory by way of Epieiceia, at first the  
light troops of their adversaries did them a great  
deal of harm by throwing missiles and discharging  
arrows upon them from the heights upon their right.  
But when they had descended towards the sea,<sup>2</sup>  
they marched on by this route through the plain,  
devastating and burning the land. The enemy also,  
however, retired and encamped, getting the river-  
bed<sup>3</sup> in front of them; and when, as they advanced,  
the Lacedaemonians were distant not so much as ten  
stadia from the enemy, they also encamped where  
they were and remained quiet.

And now I will state the numbers on either side.  
As for hoplites, there had gathered together of the

<sup>1</sup> The Corinthian Gulf.    <sup>2</sup> Of the Nemea.

- ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλίων ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται ἠκολούθουν ὥς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν· ἐκχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μετὰ
- 17 Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. ἥ γε μὴν τῶν πολέμιων ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον· ἵππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν, ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν,<sup>1</sup> εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλεόν ἦν·<sup>2</sup> καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρήσαν αὐτοῖς.
- 18 Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ . . . παρήσαν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> ἦν: Kel. assumes a lacuna after it.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. on account of some religious festival.

Lacedaemonians about six thousand, of the Eleans, 394 B.C. Triphylians, Acrorians, and Lasionians almost three thousand, and of the Sicyonians one thousand five hundred, while of the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, and Halians there were not less than three thousand. Besides these there were horsemen of the Lacedaemonians to the number of about seven hundred, Cretan bowmen who accompanied the army, about three hundred, and, further, slingers of the Marganians, Letrinians, and Amphidolians, not less than four hundred. The Phliasians, however, would not join them; for they said that they were keeping a holy truce.<sup>1</sup> This, then, was the force on the side of the Lacedaemonians. But the force of the enemy which was gathered together included, of the Athenians about six thousand hoplites, of the Argives, according to all accounts, about seven thousand, of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) only about five thousand, of the Corinthians about three thousand, and, further, from the whole of Euboea not less than three thousand. This was the number of the hoplites; but as for horsemen, there were of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) about eight hundred, of the Athenians about six hundred, of the Chalcidians from Euboea about one hundred, and of the Opuntian Locrians about fifty. And of light troops also there was a greater number with the party of the Corinthians; for the Ozolian Locrians, Malians, and Acarnanians were with them.

This, then, was the force on either side. Now the Boeotians, so long as they occupied the left wing,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In this position they were opposite the Lacedaemonians, who always took the right wing.



κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθύς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποίησαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι.

- 19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ᾔσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθύς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἐκάστους οἱ ξυναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, καὶ οὕτω πολὺν ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἕξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ
- 20 Τεγεάτας. οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαιγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγούντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently agreed upon. cp. § 13.

<sup>2</sup> Goddess of the chase.

were not in the least eager to join battle; but when the Athenians took position opposite the Lacedaemonians, and the Boeotians themselves got the right wing and were stationed opposite the Achaeans, they immediately said that the sacrifices were favourable and gave the order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle. And in the first place, disregarding the sixteen-rank formation,<sup>1</sup> they made their phalanx exceedingly deep, and, besides, they also veered to the right in leading the advance, in order to outflank the enemy with their wing; and the Athenians, in order not to be detached from the rest of the line, followed them towards the right, although they knew that there was danger of their being surrounded. Now for a time the Lacedaemonians did not perceive that the enemy were advancing; for the place was thickly overgrown; but when the latter struck up the paeon, then at length they knew, and immediately gave orders in their turn that all should make ready for battle. And when they had been drawn up together in the positions which the Lacedaemonian leaders of the allies assigned to the several divisions, they passed the word along to follow the van. Now the Lacedaemonians also veered to the right in leading the advance, and extended their wing so far beyond that of the enemy that only six tribes of the Athenians found themselves opposite the Lacedaemonians, the other four being opposite the Tegeans. And when the armies were now not so much as a stadium apart, the Lacedaemonians sacrificed the goat to Artemis Agrotera,<sup>2</sup> as is their custom, and led the charge upon their adversaries, wheeling round their overlapping wing in order to surround them. When

324 B.C.

- ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπιάς γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ἔπιπτον ἐκατέρων.
- 21 αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρήσαι παρήλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ
- 22 ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· τοῖς δ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέ-
- 23 κτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἡττώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

III. Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει· ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει

<sup>1</sup> i.e. on the right side, the shield being carried on the left arm.

they had come to close encounter, all the allies of 394 B.C. the Lacedaemonians were overcome by their adversaries except the men of Pellene, who, being pitted against the Thespians, fought and fell in their places,—as did also many of the other side. But the Lacedaemonians themselves overcame that part of the Athenians which they covered, and wheeling round with their overlapping wing killed many of them, and then, unscathed as they were, marched on with lines unbroken. They passed by the other four tribes of the Athenians before the latter had returned from the pursuit, so that none of these were killed except such as fell in the original encounter, at the hands of the Tegeans; but the Lacedaemonians did come upon the Argives as they were returning from the pursuit, and when the first polemarch was about to attack them in front, it is said that some one shouted out to let their front ranks pass by. When this had been done, they struck them on their unprotected sides<sup>1</sup> as they ran past, and killed many of them. The Lacedaemonians also attacked the Corinthians as they were returning. And, furthermore, they likewise came upon some of the Thebans returning from the pursuit, and killed a large number of them. These things having taken place, the defeated troops at first fled to the walls of Corinth; but afterwards, since the Corinthians shut them out, they encamped again in their old camp. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, returning to the place where they first engaged the enemy, set up a trophy. Such, then, was the issue of this battle.

III. Meanwhile Agesilaus was hurrying from Asia to the rescue; and when he was at Amphipolis,

Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῶέν τε αὐτὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ  
 2 ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου· Ἀρ' ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὥς τάχιστα πύθοντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταύτ' ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγγείλαιο; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰὲ φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοιοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάλιν  
 3 παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο.

Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραννῶνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ἐτύγχανον,  
 4 ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ  
 5 αὐτόν· ὥς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς

Dercylidas brought him word that this time the 394 a.c.  
 Lacedaemonians were victorious, and that only eight  
 of them had been killed, but of the enemy a vast  
 number; he made it known to him, however, that  
 not a few of the allies of the Lacedaemonians had  
 also fallen. And when Agesilaus asked: "Would it  
 not be advantageous, Dercylidas, if the cities which  
 are sending their troops with us should learn of the  
 victory as speedily as possible?" Dercylidas replied:  
 "It is certainly likely that they would be in better  
 spirits if they heard of this." "Then are not you  
 the man who could report it best, since you were  
 present at the battle?" And Dercylidas, glad to  
 hear this, for he was always fond of travel, replied:  
 "If you should so order." "Well, I do," said  
 Agesilaus, "and I bid you announce, further, that if  
 the present undertaking also turns out well, we shall  
 come back again, even as we said." Accordingly  
 Dercylidas set out at once for the Hellespont.

And Agesilaus, passing through Macedonia, arrived  
 in Thessaly. Then the Larisaeans, Crannonians,  
 Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of  
 the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except  
 those of them who chanced at that time to be  
 exiles, followed after him and kept molesting him.  
 And for a time he led the army in a hollow square,  
 with one half of the horsemen in front and the  
 other half at the rear; but when the Thessalians,  
 by charging upon those who were behind, kept  
 interfering with his progress, he sent along to the  
 rear the vanguard of horsemen also, except those  
 about his own person. Now when the two forces  
 had formed in line of battle against one another,  
 the Thessalians, thinking that it was not expedient



- ὀπλίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώ-  
6 ρουν. οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς  
δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἅ ἐκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει  
τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους ἱππέας, καὶ  
κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς  
7 ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ  
δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ'  
ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πλα-  
8 γίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἠλίσκοντο. Πολύ-  
χαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ  
τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει.  
ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία  
γίνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ  
καὶ ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν  
9 ἐν Ναρθακίῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν  
δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ  
Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα  
ἠδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας  
ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν  
ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ  
τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας  
ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια.
- 10 Ὀντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μνηοει-  
δῆς ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι  
εἶεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρ-  
χος Πείσανδρος τεθναίῃ. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ

<sup>1</sup> cp. III. iv. 29.

to engage as cavalry in a battle with hoplites, turned round and slowly retired. And the Greeks very cautiously followed them. Agesilaus, however, perceiving the mistakes which each side was making, sent the very stalwart horsemen who were about his person and ordered them not only to give word to the others to pursue with all speed, but to do likewise themselves, and not to give the Thessalians a chance to face round again. And when the Thessalians saw them rushing upon them unexpectedly, some of them fled, others turned about, and others, in trying to do this, were captured while their horses were turned half round. But Polycharmus the Pharsalian, who was the commander of the cavalry, turned round and fell fighting, together with those about him. When this happened, there followed a headlong flight on the part of the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed and others were captured. At all events they did not stop until they had arrived at Mount Narthacium. On that day, accordingly, Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium and remained on the field of battle, greatly pleased with his exploit, in that he had been victorious, over the people who pride themselves particularly upon their horsemanship, with the cavalry that he had himself gathered together. And on the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, even to the boundaries of the Boeotians.

When he was at the entrance to Boeotia, the sun seemed to appear crescent-shaped, and word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander,<sup>1</sup> had been killed. It was also stated in what

- 11 ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδου τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλοις, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα συν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.
- 12 ἀντιπααραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθύς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμείξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σφύζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον,
- 13 αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἴη αὐτῷ οἷον ἀγαθῶν μὲν γιγνομένων ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὀρῶεν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκώς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
- 14 ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικόντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
- 15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιωτοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> cp. II. i. 29. Through the influence of Pharnabazus, Conon had been commissioned a Persian admiral. His fleet was "Greek" merely in the sense that it was manned by Greek mercenaries and volunteers.

way the battle had been fought. For it was near 394 B.C. Cnidos that the fleets sailed against one another, and Pharnabazus, who was admiral, was with the Phoenician ships, while Conon<sup>1</sup> with the Greek fleet was posted in front of him. And when Peisander, in spite of his ships being clearly fewer than the Greek ships under Conon, had formed his line of battle against them, his allies on the left wing immediately fled, and he himself, after coming to close encounter with the enemy, was driven ashore, his trireme damaged by the enemy's beaks; and all the others who were driven ashore abandoned their ships and made their escape as best they could to Cnidos, but he fell fighting on board his ship. Now Agesilaus, on learning these things, at first was overcome with sorrow; but when he had considered that the most of his troops were the sort of men to share gladly in good fortune if good fortune came, but that if they saw anything unpleasant, they were under no compulsion to share in it,<sup>2</sup>—thereupon, changing the report, he said that word had come that Peisander was dead, but victorious in the naval battle. And at the moment of saying these things he offered sacrifice as if for good news, and sent around to many people portions of the victims which had been offered; so that when a skirmish with the enemy took place, the troops of Agesilaus won the day in consequence of the report that the Lacedaemonians were victorious in the naval battle.

Those who were now drawn up against Agesilaus were the Boeotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both<sup>3</sup> the Locrian peoples; while with Agesilaus was a regiment of Lacedae-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. being practically volunteers (cp. ii. 4).    <sup>2</sup> cp. ii. 17.

Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβᾶσα, ἡμισὺ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμῶδεις συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσας διῶν παρέλαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὀπλῖται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἵππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο ὅλα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίου οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.

- 17 Συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ πολλῇ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἡνίκα δ' ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὥς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φύλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι



monians which had crossed over from Corinth, half of the regiment from Orchomenus, furthermore the emancipated Helots from Lacedaemon who had made the expedition with him, besides these the foreign contingent which Herippidas commanded, and, furthermore, the troops from the Greek cities in Asia and from all those cities in Europe which he had brought over as he passed through them; and from the immediate neighbourhood there came to him hoplites of the Orchomenians and Phocians. As for peltasts, those with Agesilaus were far more numerous; on the other hand, the horsemen of either side were about equal in number. This, then, was the force on both sides; and I will also describe the battle, and how it proved to be like no other of the battles of our time. They met on the plain of Coronea, those with Agesilaus coming from the Cephissus, and those with the Thebans from Mount Helicon. And Agesilaus occupied the right wing of the army under his command, while the Orchomenians were at the extreme end of his left wing. On the other side, the Thebans themselves were on the right and the Argives occupied their left wing.

Now as the opposing armies were coming together, there was deep silence for a time in both lines; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-cry and rushed to close quarters on the run. When, however, the distance between the armies was still about three plethra, the troops whom Herippidas commanded, and with them the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellenes, ran forth in their turn from the phalanx of Agesilaus, and the whole mass joined in the charge and, when they came within spear thrust, put to flight



- ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ  
 ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ  
 18 τὸν Ἐλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων  
 ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις  
 αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακό-  
 ψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 εὐθύς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς·  
 οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς  
 Ἐλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.  
 19 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν  
 εἰπεῖν ἀναμψισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἴλετό γε τὰ  
 ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς  
 διαπίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὀπι-  
 σθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος  
 συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς  
 ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέ-  
 θνησκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν δια-  
 πίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχω-  
 20 ροῦντες ἀπέθανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάου  
 ἐγεγέννητο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο  
 πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν  
 ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς  
 ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ εἰσι, καὶ  
 ἡρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ  
 τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου,  
 ἀλλ' ἔαν τε ἀπιέναι ἢ βούλονται ἐκέλευε καὶ  
 ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡδη

the force in their front. As for the Argives, they 394 B.C.  
 did not await the attack of the forces of Agesilaus, but fled to Mount Helicon. Thereupon some of the mercenaries were already garlanding Agesilaus, when a man brought him word that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were in among the baggage train. And he immediately wheeled his phalanx and led the advance against them; but the Thebans on their side, when they saw that their allies had taken refuge at Mount Helicon, wishing to break through to join their own friends, massed themselves together and came on stoutly.

At this point one may unquestionably call Agesilaus courageous; at least he certainly did not choose the safest course. For while he might have let the men pass by who were trying to break through and then have followed them and overcome those in the rear, he did not do this, but crashed against the Thebans front to front; and setting shields against shields they shoved, fought, killed, and were killed. Finally, some of the Thebans broke through and reached Mount Helicon, but many were killed while making their way thither. Now when the victory had fallen to Agesilaus and he himself had been carried, wounded, to the phalanx, some of the horsemen rode up and told him that about eighty of the enemy, still armed, had taken shelter in the temple of Athena, and asked him what they should do. And he, although he had received many wounds, nevertheless did not forget the deity, but ordered them to allow these men to go away whithersoever they wished, and would permit them to commit no wrong. Then—it was already late—they took

- 21 ὁψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. πρῶ δὲ  
Γύλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε τὸ  
στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφα-  
νοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας  
αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι  
ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς  
αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἷ τε σπονδαὶ  
γίνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικό-  
μενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν  
οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων. Γύλις δὲ ὁ πολέ-  
μαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Φω-  
22 κέας, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. καὶ  
τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεύη  
ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σῖτον ἥρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς  
ἑσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωρούντων τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λοκροὶ  
βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες. ὥς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ διώξαντες  
κατέβαλόν τινας, ἐκ τούτου ὀπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι  
ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον.
- 23 οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν·  
ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ  
μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> διὰ  
τὸ μὴ προορᾶν τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκουσι Γύλις τε ὁ πολέ-  
μαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ  
πάντες ὥς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

dinner and lay down to rest. And in the morning 394 B.C. Agesilaus gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god,<sup>1</sup> and that all the flute-players should play. And they did these things. The Thebans, however, sent heralds asking to bury their dead under a truce. In this way, accordingly, the truce was made, and Agesilaus went to Delphi and offered to the god a tithe of the amount derived from his booty, an offering of not less than one hundred talents; but Gylis, the polemarch, withdrew with the army to Phocis and from there made an invasion of Locris. And for most of the day the soldiers busied themselves in carrying off portable property and provisions from the villages; but when it was towards evening and they were withdrawing, the Lacedaemonians being in the rear, the Locrians followed after them throwing stones and javelins. And when the Lacedaemonians, turning about and setting out in pursuit, had struck down some of them, after that, although the Locrians no longer followed in their rear, they threw missiles upon them from the heights upon their right. Then the Lacedaemonians again undertook to pursue them, even up the slope; but since darkness was coming on and, as they were retiring from the pursuit, some of them fell on account of the roughness of the country, others because they could not see what was ahead of them, and still others from the missiles of the enemy, under these circumstances Gylis, the polemarch, and Pelles, one of his comrades, were slain, and in all about eighteen of the Spartiatae,

<sup>1</sup> The Dorian Apollo.

καταλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ ~~μη~~ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν ἅπαντες ἀπολέσθαι.

- IV. Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἶκον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυῶνος. ὀρώντες δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δηουμένην καὶ πολλοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἀποθνήσκοντας διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὄντας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὖσας, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον
- 2 ταῦτα ἀλλήλους. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγεννημένοι ὥς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδῶν ποιήσονται τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσει πάλιν ἡ πόλις λακωνίσει, οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμῳ τις καταγνωσθῇ, οὐκ ἀποκτιννύουσιν ἐν ἑορτῇ· ἐκείνοι δ' Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο, ὅτι πλείους ἂν ᾤοντο λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥστε ἀπο-
- 3 κτεῖναι. ὥς δ' ἐσημάνθη οἷς εἴρητο οὓς ἔδει ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> πολλοὺς inserted by Kel., following Breitenbach.

some by being stoned to death, some by javelin wounds. And if some of those who were in the camp at dinner had not come to their aid, all of them would have been in danger of perishing. 394 B.C.

IV. After this the various contingents of the army were dismissed to their several cities and Agesilaus also sailed back home. And from that time on the Athenians, Boeotians, Argives, and their allies continued the war, making Corinth their base, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies from Sicyon. As the Corinthians, however, saw that their own land was being laid waste and that many of them were being killed because they were continually near the enemy, while the rest of the allies were living in peace themselves and their lands were under cultivation, the most and best of them came to desire peace, and uniting together urged this course upon one another. But the Argives, Athenians, Boeotians, and those among the Corinthians who had received a share of the money from the King, as well as those who had made themselves chiefly responsible for the war, realizing that if they did not put out of the way the people who had turned toward peace, the state would be in danger of going over to the Lacedaemonians again, undertook, under these circumstances, to bring about a general massacre. And in the first place, they devised the most sacrilegious of all schemes; for other people, even if a man is condemned by process of law, do not put him to death during a religious festival; but these men chose the last day of the Euclea,<sup>1</sup> because they thought they would catch more people in the market-place, so as to kill them. Then again, when the signal was given 393 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> The festival of Artemis Euclea.



κτείναι, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μὲν τινα  
 συνεστηκότα ἐν κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον,<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
 δέ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ' ὃν καὶ κριτὴν καθή-  
 μενον. ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὐθύς ἔφευγον  
 οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς· ἔνθα δὴ οἱ  
 ἀνοσιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον φρο-  
 νοῦντες, οἳ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι,  
 ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥστ' ἐνίους καὶ  
 τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀδη-  
 4 μονῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. ἀπο-  
 θνήσκουσι δ' οὕτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοί·  
 μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ  
 νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύσαντος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον  
 ἔσεσθαι, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανεῖῳ. ὥς δὲ  
 τῆς κραυγῆς ἤσθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ  
 πράγματος ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐκ τούτου  
 ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, προσ-  
 βαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπε-  
 5 κρούσαντο· βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν,  
 πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ  
 οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου. καὶ θυομένοις δὲ τοιαῦτα  
 ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντις ἔφασαν ἄμεινον εἶναι  
 καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 ὥς φευξόμενοι ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον καὶ μητέρες

<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ καθήμενον MSS.: Kel. brackets.

to those who had been told whom they were to 392 B.C.  
 kill, they drew their swords and struck men down,—  
 one while standing in a social group, another while  
 sitting in his seat, still another in the theatre, and  
 another even while he was sitting as judge in a  
 dramatic contest. Now when the situation became  
 known, the better classes immediately fled, in part  
 to the statues of the gods in the market-place, in  
 part to the altars; then the conspirators, utterly  
 sacrilegious and without so much as a single thought  
 for civilized usage, both those who gave the orders  
 and those who obeyed, kept up the slaughter even  
 at the holy places, so that some even among those  
 who were not victims of the attack, being right-  
 minded men, were dismayed in their hearts at be-  
 holding such impiety. In this way many of the  
 older men were killed; for it was they especially  
 who chanced to be in the market-place; while the  
 younger men, since Pasimelus suspected what was  
 going to happen, had remained quietly in the gym-  
 nasium of Craneium. But when they heard the out-  
 cry and some had come to them in flight from the  
 massacre, thereupon, rushing up on the slopes of  
 Acrocorinthus,<sup>1</sup> they beat off an attack which the  
 Argives and the rest made upon them; while they  
 were deliberating, however, as to what they should  
 do, the capital fell from a column, although there had  
 been neither earthquake nor wind. Likewise, when  
 they sacrificed, the omens from the victims were such  
 that the seers said it was better to descend from the  
 place. And at first they retired beyond the territory  
 of Corinth with the intention of going into exile; but  
 when their friends and mothers and sisters kept

<sup>1</sup> The citadel of Corinth.

ἰοῦσαι καὶ ἀδελφαί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει  
 ὄντων ἦσαν οἱ ὁμνύοντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μηδὲν  
 χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι, οὕτω δὲ ἀπῆλθόν  
 6 τινες οἵκαδε αὐτῶν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει  
 ὄντας<sup>1</sup> τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζο-  
 μένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ ὅρους ἀνεσπιάσθαι  
 καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς  
 ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι  
 τῆς ἐν Ἄργει μετέχειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντό τινες  
 αὐτῶν οἱ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι  
 πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀπο-  
 δεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαφόνων καθαρὰν, εὐνομίᾳ  
 δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναιντο κατα-  
 πράξαι ταῦτα, σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος,  
 εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων  
 ἀγαθῶν ὀρεγομένους ἀξιεπαινοτάτης τελευτῆς  
 7 τυχεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἄνδρε δύο, Πασί-  
 μηλός τε καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου  
 συγγενέσθαι Πραξίτῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολε-  
 μάρχῳ, ὃς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας  
 φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυνῶνι, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι δύναιντ' ἂν  
 παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα ἐπὶ  
 Λέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γιγνώσκων τὸ  
 ἄνδρε ἀξιοπίστῳ ὄντε, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξά-  
 μενος ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπιέναι μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυνῶ-  
 νος μόραν καταμεῖναι, ἔπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας inserted by Kel., following Campe.

coming to them and trying to dissuade them, and, 392 B.C.  
 further, some of the very men who were in power  
 promised under oath that they should suffer no harm,  
 under these circumstances some of them returned  
 home. They saw, however, that those who were in  
 power were ruling like tyrants, and perceived that  
 their state was being put out of existence, inasmuch  
 as boundary stones had been removed and their  
 fatherland was called Argos instead of Corinth;  
 and, while they were compelled to share in the rights  
 of citizenship at Argos, for which they had no desire,  
 they had less influence in their state than aliens.  
 Some of them, accordingly, came to the belief that  
 life under such conditions was not endurable; but  
 if they endeavoured to make their fatherland  
 Corinth again, even as it had been from the begin-  
 ning, and to make it free, and not only pure of the  
 stain of the murderers, but blest with an orderly  
government, they thought it a worthy deed, if  
 they could accomplish these things, to become  
 saviours of their fatherland, but if they could not do  
 so, to meet a most praiseworthy death in striving  
 after the fairest and greatest blessings. Accordingly  
 two men, Pasimelus and Alcimenes, undertook by  
 wading through a torrent to effect a meeting with  
 Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch, who chanced  
 to be on garrison duty with his regiment at Sicyon,  
 and told him that they could give him entrance to  
 the walls which reached down to Lechaem.<sup>1</sup> And  
 Praxitas, since even before this he had known the  
 two men to be trustworthy, trusted them, and after  
 arranging that the regiment which was about to  
 depart from Sicyon should also remain, made plans

<sup>1</sup> The port of Corinth.

- 8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ τύχην καὶ κατ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἔνθα περ τὸ τροπαῖον ἑστήκει, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων ὁ Πραξίτας ἔρχεται τήν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Κορινθίους ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν εἰσοδόν, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν ἄνδρα εἰσπύμπαι σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τὸν δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην καὶ οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὥστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οἷά περ ἐλεγέτην. ἐκ 9 τούτου δ' εἰσέρχεται. ὥς δὲ πολὺν διεχόντων τῶν τειχῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων παραταττόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἑαυτοῖς ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμά τ' ἐποίησαντο καὶ τάφρον οἷαν ἐδύναντο πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἕως δὴ οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακή.
- Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν ἅμαχοι διήγαγον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἤκουσεν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πασσυδία βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὐρόντες τεταγμένους Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυωνίους δὲ ἐχομένους, Κορινθίους δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὥς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τῷ ἐώῳ τείχει, ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι τοῦ ἐώου τείχους οἱ περὶ Ἰφικράτη μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι· 10 εὐώνυμον δ' εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες τὸ σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ θάλατ-



for his entrance. And when the two men, partly by 392 B.C.  
 accident and partly by contrivance, had been made  
sentinels at the very gate where the trophy stands,  
 then Praxitas came with his regiment, the Sicyonians,  
 and all the Corinthians who chanced to be exiles. But  
 when he was at the gate, being afraid to make  
 the entry, he wished to send in one of his trusted  
 men to examine the situation inside. Then the two  
 Corinthians led him in and showed him everything  
 in so straightforward a manner that the man who  
 went in reported that all was truly just as they said.  
 Thereupon Praxitas entered. The walls, however,  
 are a long distance from each other; his troops, in  
 consequence, when they formed in line for battle,  
 thought themselves to be few in number, and there-  
 fore made a stockade and as good a trench as they  
 could in front of them, to protect them until their  
 allies should come to their aid. Besides, there was  
 a garrison of Thebans in their rear, at the port.

Now the day after the night on which they  
 entered they passed without a battle; but on the  
 following day came the Argives, hurrying with all  
speed to the rescue; and finding the Lacedaemonians  
 stationed on the right of their own line, the Sicyo-  
 nians next to them, and the Corinthian exiles, about  
 one hundred and fifty in number, by the eastern  
 wall, the enemy formed in line against them with  
 the mercenaries under Iphicrates close to the east-  
 ern wall, and next to them the Argives; while the  
 Corinthians from the city occupied their left wing.  
 Then the Argives, filled with overweening confidence  
 on account of their numbers, advanced at once; and  
 they defeated the Sicyonians, and breaking through  
 the stockade pursued them to the sea and there



ταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Πασί-  
μαχος δὲ ὁ ἵππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππέας οὐ πολ-  
λούς, ὥς ἑώρα τοὺς Σικυωνίους πιεζομένους,  
καταδήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελό-  
μενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων  
ἦει ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργεῖοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀρώντες  
τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὥς Σικυωνίους  
οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ Πασί-  
μαχος· Ναὶ τῷ σιῷ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμεῖς τὰ  
σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος  
μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἄλλοι  
11 τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. οἱ μέντοι φυγάδες τῶν Κοριν-  
θίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν ἄνω, καὶ  
ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστν κύκλου. οἱ δ'  
αὐτὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς ἦσθοντο κρατοῦντα τὰ κατὰ  
τοὺς Σικυωνίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀρι-  
στερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα.<sup>1</sup> οἱ γὰρ μὴν Ἀργεῖοι  
ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν ὁπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους,  
στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος  
ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν  
παιόμενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀθρόοι σὺν  
πολλῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὥς δ'  
ἐνέτυχον τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ ἔγνωσαν  
πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα  
μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες  
ἤλλοντο κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ  
δὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὠθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι

<sup>1</sup> ἐξελθόντες . . . σταύρωμα MSS.: Kol. brackets.

killed many of them. But Pasimachus, the Lacedaemonian commander of horse, at the head of a few horsemen, when he saw the Sicyonians hard pressed, tied his horses to trees, took from the Sicyonians their shields, and advanced with a volunteer force against the Argives. The Argives, however, seeing the *Sigmas* upon the shields, did not fear these opponents at all, thinking that they were Sicyonians. Then, as the story goes, Pasimachus said: "By the twin gods,<sup>1</sup> Argives, these *Sigmas* will deceive you," and came to close quarters with them; and fighting thus with a few against many he was slain, and likewise others of his party. Meanwhile the Corinthian exiles, being victorious over the troops opposed to them, pushed their way through in the inland direction and got near the wall which surrounded the city. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they perceived that the forces opposed to the Sicyonians were victorious, they issued forth from the stockade and went to the rescue, keeping the stockade on their left. But when the Argives heard that the Lacedaemonians were in their rear, they turned around and burst out of the stockade again on the run. And those upon their extreme right were struck on their unprotected sides by the Lacedaemonians and killed, but those who were near the wall, crowded together in a disorderly mass, continued their retreat towards the city. When, however, they came upon the Corinthian exiles and discovered that they were enemies, they turned back again. Thereupon some of them, climbing up by the steps to the top of the wall, jumped down on the other side and were killed, others perished around the steps, being

<sup>1</sup> Castor and Pollux.

- ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ' ἀλλή-  
 12 λων ἀπεπνίγοντο. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠπό-  
 ρουν τίνα ἀποκτείνουσιν· ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς  
 αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἷον οὐδ' ἠϋξαντό ποτ' ἄν. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβη-  
 μένον, ἐκπεπληγμένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ  
 μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυ-  
 σθαι πάντας πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἄν  
 τις θεῖον ἡγήσαιτο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ  
 πολλοὶ ἔπεσον ὥστε εἰθισμένοι ὄρᾱν οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
 σωροὺς σίτου, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἐθεάσαντο  
 σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι  
 τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ  
 13 δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες. μετὰ  
 μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι  
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμ-  
 μαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν  
 τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν  
 εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε τὴν  
 ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἰρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν  
 Σιδοῦντα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κρομμῶνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις  
 τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τοῦμπαλιν  
 ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τειχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον  
 εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε  
 τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα  
 ἀπεχώρει.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the walls which connected Corinth with Lechaëum, *cp.* § 7.

shoved and struck by the enemy, and still others 392 B.C. were trodden under foot by one another and suffocated. And the Lacedaemonians were in no uncertainty about whom they should kill; for then at least heaven granted them an achievement such as they could never even have prayed for. For to have a crowd of enemies delivered into their hands, frightened, panic-stricken, presenting their unprotected sides, no one rallying to his own defence, but all rendering all possible assistance toward their own destruction,—how could one help regarding this as a gift from heaven? On that day, at all events, so many fell within a short time that men accustomed to see heaps of corn, wood, or stones, beheld then heaps of dead bodies. Furthermore, the Boeotians of the garrison in the port were also killed, some upon the walls, and others after they had climbed up on the roofs of the ship-houses. After this the Corinthians and Argives carried off their dead under a truce, and the allies of the Lacedaemonians came to their aid. And when they were gathered together, in the first place Praxitas decided to tear down a portion of the walls<sup>1</sup> so as to make a passage through wide enough for an army, and secondly, putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced by the road to Megara and captured by storm, first Sidus and then Crommyon. And after stationing garrisons in these strongholds he marched back again; then he fortified Epieiceia, in order that it might serve as an outpost to protect the territory of his allies,<sup>2</sup> and then disbanded his army and himself withdrew by the road to Lacedaemon.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Sicyonians.

- 14 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαιναντο, φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσιν αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τεῖχη. μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἐκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.
- 15 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλίγοις δὲ λεηλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσοῦτους ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ φεύγειν κατάγοιεν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου ὥστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον χρόνον εἶχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασιν περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρήσαι ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οἴανπερ
- 16 καὶ παρέλαβον. οἱ δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται παντάπασιν οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβηντο. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίσαν ὥς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν

From this time on large armies of citizens were no longer employed on either side, for the states merely sent out garrisons, the one party to Corinth, the other to Sicyon, and guarded the walls of these cities. Each side, however, had mercenaries, and with these prosecuted the war vigorously. 331 B.C.

It was at this time also that Iphicrates invaded the territory of Phlius, set an ambush, meanwhile plundering with a few followers, and when the men from the city came out against him in an unguarded way, killed so many of them that the Phliasians, although before this they had refused to receive the Lacedaemonians within their wall, from fear that the latter would bring back to the city the people who said that they were in exile on account of their Lacedaemonian sympathies, were then seized with such panic fear of the men from Corinth that they sent for the Lacedaemonians and put the city and the citadel in their hands to guard. And the Lacedaemonians, although they were well minded toward the exiles, during all the time that they held their city made not so much as the least mention of a restoration of exiles, but when the city seemed to have recovered its courage, they departed, after giving over to the Phliasians both their city and their laws unchanged, precisely as they were when they took the city in charge. Again, Iphicrates and his troops invaded many districts of Arcadia also, where they plundered and made attacks upon the walled towns; for the hoplites of the Arcadians did not come out from their walls at all to meet them; such fear they had conceived of the peltasts. But the peltasts in their turn were so afraid of the Lacedaemonians that they did not approach within a javelin's cast of the



- τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἤδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλόντες
- 17 ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. καταφρονούντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε ἐπ' ἐκδραμόντας πελταστας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστας ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ὀρμώμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν
- 18 Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύοντο· οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ῥώμην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων διήρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἠγγήσαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατειχίσαι τὰ διηρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεὶ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σικυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνυ καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ ἑῶν μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἐτείχιζον.
- 19 Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργεῖους τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἠγείτο, καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὐθύς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν

hoplites; for it had once happened that the younger 391 B.C.  
 men among the Lacedaemonians, pursuing even  
 from so great a distance as that, overtook and killed  
 some of them. But while the Lacedaemonians felt  
 contempt for the peltasts, they felt even greater  
 contempt for their own allies; for once, when the  
 Mantineans went out against peltasts who had sallied  
 forth from the wall that extends to Lechaeum, they  
 had given way under the javelins of the peltasts and  
 some of them had been killed as they fled; so that  
 the Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make  
 game of their allies, saying that they feared the  
 peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins. As for  
 themselves, setting out from Lechaeum as a base  
 with one regiment and the Corinthian exiles, they  
 made expeditions all round about the city of the  
 Corinthians; but the Athenians, on the other hand,  
 fearing the power of the Lacedaemonians and think-  
 ing that they might come against them, now that the  
 long walls of the Corinthians had been destroyed,  
 decided that it was best to rebuild the walls destroyed  
 by Praxitas. So they came with their full force,  
 accompanied by masons and carpenters, and com-  
 pleted within a few days the wall toward Sicyon and  
 the west, making a very excellent wall of it, and  
 then went on to build the eastern wall in more  
 leisurely fashion.

The Lacedaemonians on their side, considering  
 that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their  
 lands at home and taking pleasure in the war, made  
 an expedition against them. Agesilaus was in com-  
 mand, and after laying waste all their territory he  
 proceeded straight from there across the mountains  
 by way of Tenea to Corinth and captured the walls

Ἀθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριήρεις περὶ δώδεκα· ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὧν ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἤρρηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τό τε τῶν συμμάχων στράτευμα διήκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

V. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σφύζοντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἀργους Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ' ἦσθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν  
2 ἐπὶ Κεγχρεῖας ὁδόν. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτός τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> A mountainous peninsula of considerable extent on the north-western side of the isthmus of Corinth (see note 2, below). At its western extremity was the Heraeum, or temple of Hera (see § 5, below), near which was a small lake

that had been rebuilt by the Athenians. And his 391 B.C.  
 brother Teleutias also came to his support by sea,  
 with about twelve triremes; so that their mother  
 was deemed happy in that on the same day one of  
 the sons whom she bore captured by land the walls  
 of the enemy and the other by sea his ships and  
 dock-yards. And at that time, after accomplishing  
 these things, Agesilaus disbanded the army of the  
 allies and led his citizen force back home.

V. After this the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing 390 B.C.  
 from the Corinthian exiles that the people in the city  
 had all their cattle in Piraeum<sup>1</sup> and there kept them  
 safe, and that many were being maintained from this  
 supply, made another expedition to the territory of  
 Corinth, Agesilaus being in command this time also.  
 And first he came to the Isthmus<sup>2</sup>; for it was the  
 month during which the Isthmian games are cele-  
 brated, and the Argives chanced at the time to be  
 offering the sacrifice there to Poseidon, as though  
 Argos were Corinth. But when they learned that  
 Agesilaus was approaching, they left behind both  
 the victims that had been offered and the breakfast  
 that was being made ready and retired to the city in  
 very great fear, along the road leading to Cenchreae.  
 Agesilaus, however, did not pursue them, even  
 though he saw them, but encamping in the sacred  
 precinct offered sacrifice himself to the god and  
 (§ 6). In the north-eastern part of the peninsula was the  
 fortress of Oenoe (§ 5).

<sup>2</sup> The term was used by the Greeks, not (as in the preced-  
 ing note) of the entire neck of land connecting Peloponnesus  
 with northern Greece, but only of its narrowest part, some  
 three or four miles north-east of the city of Corinth. Toward  
 the eastern side of this Isthmus proper was the famous  
 sanctuary of Poseidon where, every two years, the Isthmian  
 games were celebrated.

περιέμενεν, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησίλαου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἅ τῶν ἄθλων δις ἕκαστος ἐνικήθη, ἔστι δὲ ἅ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.

- 3 Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως· ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δέισαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τινων ἢ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ προῆει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θερμαῖς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέ-
- 4 ρευσεν. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῷ, καιρίῳ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ἠὺδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος διὰ τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Situated near the shore on the road leading from the Isthmus to Piraeum.

waited until the Corinthian exiles had conducted 390 B.C  
 the sacrifice and the games in honour of Poseidon. But when Agesilaus had left the Isthmus, the Argives celebrated the Isthmian games all over again. In that year, accordingly, in some of the contests individual competitors were beaten twice, while in others the same competitors were twice proclaimed victors.

On the fourth day Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum. But seeing that it was guarded by many, he withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, as though the city were going to be betrayed to him; so that the Corinthians, in fear that the city was to be betrayed by some one, summoned Iphicrates with the greater part of his peltasts. Agesilaus, however, upon perceiving that they had passed by during the night, turned about, and at daybreak proceeded to lead his army to Piraeum. And he himself advanced by way of the hot springs,<sup>1</sup> but he sent one regiment up the heights to proceed along the topmost ridge. On that night, accordingly, he was in camp at the hot springs, while the regiment bivouacked, holding possession of the heights. It was then that Agesilaus won credit by a trifling but timely expedient. For since no one among those who carried provisions for the regiment had brought fire, and it was cold, not only because they were at a high altitude, but also because there had been rain and hail towards evening—and besides, they had gone up in light clothing suitable to the summer season—and they were shivering and, in the darkness, had no heart for their dinner, Agesilaus sent up not less than ten men carrying fire in earthen pots. And when these men had climbed up by one



μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης, πάντες μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Πρωσιδῶνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὅφ' οὗτου δ' 5 ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἶδεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἑραιοὺν κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Οἰνόην τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἰρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἑραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες Ἀγησιλάῳ γινῶναι ὅ τι βούλοιοτο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ' ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα 6 πραθῆναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῆει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ παρήσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἦκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *cp.* iv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The reference is uncertain.

way and another and many large fires had been 390 B.C. made, since there was a great deal of fuel at hand, all the soldiers anointed themselves and many of them only then began their dinner. It was on this night also that the temple of Poseidon<sup>1</sup> was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire. Now when the people in Piraeum perceived that the heights were occupied, they gave no further thought to defending themselves, but fled for refuge to the Heraeum,<sup>2</sup> men and women, slaves and freemen, and the greater part of the cattle. And Agesilaus with the army proceeded along the sea shore; while the regiment, descending at the same time from the heights, captured Oenoe,<sup>2</sup> the stronghold which had been fortified in Piraeum, and took possession of all that was within it, and in fact all the soldiers on that day possessed themselves of provisions in abundance from the farms. Meanwhile those who had taken refuge in the Heraeum came out, with the purpose of leaving it to Agesilaus to decide as he chose in regard to them. He decided to deliver over to the exiles all those who had had a part in the massacre,<sup>3</sup> and that all else should be sold. Thereupon the prisoners came forth from the Heraeum, a very great number of them, together with their property; and many embassies from various states presented themselves, while from the Boeotians in particular ambassadors had come to ask what they should do in order to obtain peace. Agesilaus, however, in a very lofty way affected not even to see these ambassadors, although Pharax, diplomatic agent for the Thebans at Lacedaemon, was standing beside them for the purpose of presenting them to him; but sitting in the circular structure<sup>4</sup> near the lake,<sup>2</sup> he

κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες αἰεί  
 7 πῶς ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἐοικότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεύς τις προσήλανε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὧν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὥς ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἑδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ξεναγούς καλεῖν τὸν κή-  
 8 ρυκα ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δὲ συνέδραμον οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἡριστοποίηντο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιντο ἤκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρημένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Described in §§ 11–17, below.

<sup>2</sup> The tent companions of a Spartan king were the six

occupied himself in watching the great quantity of 390 B.C.  
 prisoners and property that was being brought out. And some Lacedaemonians from the camp followed with their spears to guard the prisoners, and were much regarded by the bystanders; for somehow men who are fortunate and victorious seem ever to be a noteworthy spectacle. But while Agesilaus was still sitting there in the attitude of a man who exulted in what had been accomplished, a horseman rode up, his horse sweating profusely. And being asked by many people what news he brought, he made no reply to anyone, but when he was near Agesilaus, he leaped down from his horse, ran up to him, and with a very gloomy face told him of the disaster<sup>1</sup> to the regiment stationed in Lechaeum. When Agesilaus heard this, he immediately leaped up from his seat, seized his spear, and ordered the herald to summon the commanders of regiments and of fifties and the leaders of the allies. When they came running together, he told the rest of them to follow along as quickly as possible after swallowing what they could—for they had not yet breakfasted—while he himself with his tent companions<sup>2</sup> went on ahead breakfastless. And the spearmen of his body-guard, fully armed, accompanied him with all speed, he leading the way and his tent companions following after him. But when he had already passed the hot springs and come to the plain of Lechaeum, three horsemen rode up and reported that the bodies of the dead had been recovered. When he heard this, he gave the order to ground arms, and after resting the army for a short time, led it back again to the Heraeum; and polemarchs, or commanders of regiments, and three other Spartiatae. Xen. *de Rep. Lac.* xiii. 1.

στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

- 9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι ὅ τι ἤκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι κωλύοι βούλοιντο εἰς ἄστν πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας· Ἄλλ' οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες
- 10 γνῶσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐστί. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραία θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κήων ἐπεδείκνυεν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἄστν οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἅτε δὲ ἀήθους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγεννημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί· οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλομενοὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν.
- 11 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι αἰεί ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ἑρκινθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα, εἴαν τε στρατοπεδεύομενοι



on the following day he exposed the prisoners and 390 B.C.  
captured property for sale.

The ambassadors of the Boeotians were now summoned and asked for what purpose they had come. They made no further mention of peace, but said that if there were nothing to hinder, they desired to pass into the city to join their own soldiers. And Agesilaus said with a laugh, "On the contrary, I know that you are not desirous of seeing your soldiers, but of beholding the good fortune of your friends, that you may see how great it has been. Wait, therefore," he said, "for I will conduct you myself, and by being with me you will find out better what manner of thing it is that has happened." And he did not believe his words, but on the next day, after offering sacrifice, he led his army to the city. He did not throw down the trophy, but by cutting down and burning any fruit-tree that was still left, he showed that no one wanted to come out against him. When he had done this, he encamped near Lechaëum; as for the ambassadors of the Thebans, although he did not let them go into the city, yet he sent them home by sea to Creusis.<sup>1</sup> Now inasmuch as such a calamity had been unusual with the Lacedaemonians, there was great mourning throughout the Laconian army, except among those whose sons, fathers, or brothers had fallen where they stood; they, however, went about like victors, with shining countenances and full of exultation in their own misfortune.

Now it was in the following way that the disaster to the regiment happened. The Amyclaeans invariably go back home to the festival of the Hyacinthia for the pæan to Apollo, whether they chance to be on

<sup>1</sup> A Boeotian port on the Corinthian Gulf.



- τυγχάνωσιν εἴαν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημούντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς ἔταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς
- 12 παρήγεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπείχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς ἑξακοσίοις ἀπῆει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἱππαρμοστήν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὁπόσου αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὐδὲν ἡγνόουν· κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας
- 13 μὴδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρήσαι σφίσιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἴππονίκου, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππέων, ἐνόμισαν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοιντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ῥαδίως ἂν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις
- 14 τοὺς ὀπλίτας. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελ-

a campaign or away from home for any other reason. 390 B.C. Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left behind at Lechaeum all the Amyclaeans in the army. Now the polemarch in command of the garrison there detailed the garrison troops of the allies to guard the wall, and himself with the regiment of hoplites and the regiment of horsemen conducted the Amyclaeans along past the city of the Corinthians. And when they were distant from Sicyon about twenty or thirty stadia, the polemarch with the hoplites, who were about six hundred in number, set out to return to Lechaeum, and ordered the commander of horse to follow after him with the regiment of horsemen after they had escorted the Amyclaeans as far as they themselves directed. Now they were by no means unaware that there were many peltasts and many hoplites in Corinth; but on account of their previous successes they contemptuously thought that no one would attack them. But those in the city of the Corinthians, both Callias, the son of Hipponicus, commander of the Athenian hoplites, and Iphicrates, leader of the peltasts, when they descried the Lacedaemonians and saw that they were not only few in number, but also unaccompanied by either peltasts or cavalry, thought that it was safe to attack them with their force of peltasts. For if they should proceed along the road, they could be attacked with javelins on their unprotected side and destroyed; and if they should undertake to pursue, they with their peltasts, the nimblest of all troops, could easily escape the hoplites. Having come to this conclusion, they led forth their troops. And Callias formed his hoplites in line of battle not far from the city, while Iphicrates with his peltasts attacked the Lacedae-

ταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 ἐπεὶ ἤκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέτρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ  
 ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς  
 ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι  
 μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ  
 πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἀπο-  
 15 διώξαι τοὺς προσκειμένους.<sup>1</sup> ὥς δὲ ἐδίωκον,  
 ἦρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ὀπλίται ὄντες  
 πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε,  
 πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνε-  
 χώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὥς τάχους  
 ἕκαστος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴφι-  
 κράτη, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ  
 ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά.  
 καὶ εὐθύς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον  
 ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺν  
 16 ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἔπα-  
 σχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ  
 πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι  
 πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν  
 βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς παρα-  
 γίγνονται καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὐθις δίωξιν ἐποιή-  
 σαντο. ὥς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ  
 κακῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἕως ἀπέκτεινάν  
 τινὰς αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις

<sup>1</sup> προσκειμένους Dobrée : προειρημένους Kel. with MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Slaves who carried the shields of the hoplites.

monian regiment. Now when the Lacedaemonians 390 B.C. were being attacked with javelins, and several men had been wounded and several others slain, they directed the shield-bearers<sup>1</sup> to take up these wounded men and carry them back to Lechaeum; and these were the only men in the regiment who were really saved.<sup>2</sup> Then the polemarch ordered the first ten year-classes<sup>3</sup> to drive off their assailants. But when they pursued, they caught no one, since they were hoplites pursuing peltasts at the distance of a javelin's cast; for Iphicrates had given orders to the peltasts to retire before the hoplites got near them; and further, when the Lacedaemonians were retiring from the pursuit, being scattered because each man had pursued as swiftly as he could, the troops of Iphicrates turned about, and not only did those in front again hurl javelins upon the Lacedaemonians, but also others on the flank, running along to reach their unprotected side. Indeed, at the very first pursuit the peltasts shot down nine or ten of them. And as soon as this happened, they began to press the attack much more boldly. Then, as the Lacedaemonians continued to suffer losses, the polemarch again ordered the first fifteen year-classes to pursue. But when these fell back, even more of them were shot down than at the first retirement. And now that the best men had already been killed, the horsemen joined them, and with the horsemen they again undertook a pursuit. But when the peltasts turned to flight, at that moment the horsemen managed their attack badly; for they did not chase the enemy until they had killed some of them, but both in

<sup>1</sup> i.e. saved both in life and in honour.

<sup>2</sup> See note on II. iv. 32.

- ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποι-  
 οῦντες δὲ καὶ πᾶσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ  
 αὖθις, αὐτοὶ μὲν αἰεὶ ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι  
 ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι θρασύτεροί τε καὶ αἰεὶ  
 17 πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνί-  
 στανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς  
 μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαίου ὡς  
 ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον,  
 ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες  
 ἤδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον,  
 ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὀρῶντες  
 καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι  
 δὲ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν.  
 ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον  
 18 περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν  
 οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

- Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν  
 μόραν ἔχων ἀπῆει, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ  
 Λεχαίῳ. διῶν δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο  
 ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς δ' ἐδύνατο  
 πρωαίτατα ἐξωρμάτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν ἔξ  
 Ὀρχομενοῦ ὀρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος παρ-  
 ἦλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι  
 19 θεάσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τὰλλα ἐπ-  
 ετύχανε Ἰφικράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρου-  
 ρῶν ἐν Σιδούντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶνι ὑπὸ Πρα-

the pursuit and in the turning backward kept an even front with the hoplites. And what with striving and suffering in this way again and again, the Lacedaemonians themselves kept continually becoming fewer and fainter of heart, while their enemies were becoming bolder, and those who attacked them continually more numerous. Therefore in desperation they gathered together on a small hill, distant from the sea about two stadia, and from Lechaenum about sixteen or seventeen stadia. And the men in Lechaenum, upon perceiving them, embarked in small boats and coasted along until they came opposite the hill. Then the troops, being now desperate, because they were suffering and being slain, while unable to inflict any harm themselves, and, besides this, seeing the Athenian hoplites also coming against them, took to flight. And some of them plunged into the sea, and some few made their escape with the horsemen to Lechaenum. But in all the battles and in the flight about two hundred and fifty of them were killed. Thus it was that these events took place.

After this Agesilaus departed with the defeated regiment, and left another behind him in Lechaenum. And as he passed along homeward, he led his troops into the cities as late in the day as he could and set out again in the morning as early as he could. When he approached Mantinea,<sup>1</sup> by leaving Orchomenus before dawn he passed by that city while it was still dark: so hard, he thought, would the soldiers find it to see the Mantineans rejoicing at their misfortune. After this, Iphicrates was very successful in his other undertakings also. For although garrisons had been stationed in Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* iv. 17.



ξίτου, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ τεῖχῃ, ἐν Οἰνόῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ παριόντες ἐκ Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παραπλέοντες εἰς Λέχαιον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι, πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

- VI. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἤναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπεστράτευν, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν συμπαρήσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμαχοῦς εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
- 2 Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἐπόμεθα ὅποι ἂν ἡγήσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιείσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γιγνομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐάσαντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμήσομεν Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς αὐτῶν, ἣ εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα ὅποιαν ἂν τινα δυνώμεθα.
- 3 ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς Λέχαιον inserted by Kel., following van Herwerden.

when he captured these strongholds, and in Oenoe 390 B.C. by Agesilaus at the time when Piraeum was taken, Iphicrates captured all these places. In Lechaenum, however, the Lacedaemonians and their allies maintained their garrison. And the Corinthian exiles, no longer proceeding by land from Sicyon past Corinth, on account of the disaster to the regiment, but sailing along the coast to Lechaenum and sallying forth from there, caused annoyance to the people in the city even as they suffered annoyance themselves.

VI. After this the Achaeans, who were in possession of Calydon—in ancient times an Aetolian town 389 B.C.—and had made the people of Calydon Achaean citizens, were compelled to keep a garrison there. For the Acarnanians made an expedition against the city, and some of the Athenians and Boeotians joined with them, because the Acarnanians were their allies. Therefore, being hard pressed by them, the Achaeans sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon. And upon reaching there the ambassadors said that they were not receiving fair treatment from the Lacedaemonians. “For, gentlemen,” they said, “we serve with you howsoever you direct and follow whithersoever you lead; but now that we are besieged by the Acarnanians and their allies, the Athenians and Boeotians, you take no thought for us. Now we cannot hold out if these things go on in this way, but either we shall abandon the war in Peloponnesus and all of us cross over and make war against the Acarnanians and their allies, or else we shall make peace on whatever terms we can.” Now they said this by way of covertly threatening to withdraw from their alliance with the Lacedaemonians

αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι.<sup>1</sup> τούτων δὲ λεγομένων  
 ἔδοξε τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον  
 εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀκαρνᾶνας. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο  
 μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ  
 4 μέντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημεὶ συνεστρατεύοντο. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἄσθη, πάντα  
 δὲ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ  
 ἀλίσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὁ δ' Ἀγη-  
 σίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς πολεμίας,  
 πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρ-  
 νάνων εἶπεν ὥς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς  
 Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἑαυτοὺς  
 καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς<sup>2</sup> συμμάχους αἰρήσονται,  
 δηλώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παρα-  
 5 λείψει οὐδέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οὕτως  
 ἐποίει, καὶ κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προήει  
 πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ  
 μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἡγησάμενοι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι  
 διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὰ τε  
 βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς  
 6 χώρας τὰ πλεῖστα εἰργάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν  
 τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάνυ ἤδη θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρα πέμπτη  
 ἢ ἕκτη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἀφ' ἧς εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος  
 πρῶ διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν  
 στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἣν τὰ βοσκήματα  
 τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε  
 παμπληθῆ καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ἵπποφόρβια καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα . . . ἀντεπικουρήσουσι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀχαιοὺς inserted by Kel., following Simon.

unless the latter should help them in return. In view 389 B.C  
of this statement, it seemed to the ephors and the assembly that it was necessary to undertake a campaign with the Achaeans against the Acarnanians. And they sent out Agesilaus, with two Lacedaemonian regiments and the corresponding contingent of the allies. The Achaeans, however, joined in the campaign with their entire force. Now when Agesilaus crossed over, all the Acarnanians of the country districts fled to the walled towns, and all their cattle were driven off to remote parts to prevent their being captured by the army. But when Agesilaus arrived at the borders of the enemy's country, he sent to the general assembly of the Acarnanians at Stratus and said that unless they discontinued their alliance with the Boeotians and Athenians and chose his people and the Achaeans as allies, he would lay waste their whole territory, one portion after another, and would not spare any portion of it. Then, upon their refusing to obey him, he proceeded to do so, continually devastating the land as he went and hence advancing not more than ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, therefore, deeming it safe on account of the slow progress of the army, brought down their cattle from the mountains and continued to till the greater part of their land. But when it seemed to Agesilaus that they were now very bold, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day from the time when he entered the country, he offered sacrifice in the morning and accomplished before evening a march of one hundred and sixty stadia to the lake on whose banks were almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians, and he captured herds of cattle and droves of horses in large numbers besides

ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα  
πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπι-  
7 οὔσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. τῶν  
μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ  
πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλ-  
λοντες καὶ σφενδονῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας  
τοῦ ὄρους ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ  
εἰς τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ  
δεῖπνον παρασκευαζόμενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα  
οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται  
φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον.

8 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στρά-  
τευμα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην  
λειμῶνός τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλω περιέ-  
χοντα ὄρη· καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐκ τῶν  
ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, καὶ ὑπο-  
καταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὀρῶν προσέ-  
κειντο καὶ πράγματα παρείχον, ὥστε οὐκέτι ἐδύ-

9 νατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ  
ἀπὸ τῆς φύλαγγος οἷ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς  
τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδὲν ἔβλαπτον· ταχὺ γὰρ  
ἦσαν, ὅποτε ἀποχωροῖεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς οἱ  
Ἀκαρνᾶνες. χαλεπὸν δ' ἡγήσάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος  
διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πᾶσχοντας,  
ἔγνω διώκειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκειμέ-  
νους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὄντας· εὐβατώτερον γὰρ ἦν  
10 τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις. καὶ ἐν  
ᾧ μὲν ἐσφαγιάζετο, μάλα κατεῖχον βάλλοντες



all sorts of other stock and great numbers of slaves. 369 B.C.  
 And after effecting this capture and remaining there through the ensuing day, he made public sale of the booty. Now, however, many peltasts of the Acarnanians came up, and, inasmuch as Agesilaus was encamped on the mountain-side, by throwing stones and discharging their slings from the ridge of the mountain they succeeded, without suffering any harm themselves, in forcing the army to descend to the plain, even though the men were already making preparations for dinner. But at night the Acarnanians departed, and the troops posted sentinels and lay down to rest.

On the next day Agesilaus undertook to lead his army away. Now the road which led out from the meadow and plain surrounding the lake was narrow on account of the mountains which encircled it round; and the Acarnanians, taking possession of these mountains, threw stones and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians from the heights upon their right, and descending gradually to the spurs of the mountains pressed the attack and caused trouble to such an extent that the army was no longer able to proceed. And when the hoplites and the horsemen left the phalanx and pursued their assailants, they could never do them any harm; for when the Acarnanians fell back, they were speedily in safe places. Then Agesilaus, thinking it a difficult matter for his troops to go out through the narrow pass under these attacks, decided to pursue the men who were attacking them on the left, very many in number; for the mountain on this side was more accessible both for hoplites and horses. Now while he was sacrificing, the Acarnanians pressed them



- καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, καὶ ἐγγὺς προσιόντες πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης, ἤλαυνον δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς
- 11 ἄλλοις ἠκολούθει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὀπλίται ἦσαν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα βέλη ἠφίεσαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες ἰππέας τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἵππους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ
- 12 τριακοσίους. τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιωὴν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἰλέ γε οὐδεμίαν. ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῆει ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
- 13 Οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον αὐτόν, ὅτι πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήφει οὔτε ἐκούσαν οὔτε ἄκουσαν, ἐδέοντό τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε χρόνον καταμεῖναι αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος. Ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, στρατεύσομαι πάλιν δεῦρο εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος· οὗτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω σπείρωσι, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον
- 14 τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουσι. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν

very hard with throwing stones and javelins, and coming close up to them wounded many. But when he gave the word, the first fifteen year-classes of the hoplites ran forth, the horsemen charged, and he himself with the other troops followed. Then those among the Acarnanians who had come down the mountains and were throwing missiles quickly gave way and, as they tried to escape uphill, were killed one after another; on the summit, however, were the hoplites of the Acarnanians, drawn up in line of battle, and the greater part of the peltasts, and there they stood firm, and not only discharged their other missiles, but by hurling their spears struck down horsemen and killed some horses. But when they were now almost at close quarters with the Lacedaemonian hoplites, they gave way, and there fell on that day about three hundred of them. When these things had taken place, Agesilaus set up a trophy. And afterwards, going about through the country, he laid it waste with axe and fire; he also made assaults upon some of the cities, being compelled by the Achaeans to do so, but did not capture any one of them. And when at length autumn was coming on, he set about departing from the country.

The Achaeans, however, thought that he had accomplished nothing because he had gained possession of no city, with or without its consent, and they begged him, even if he did nothing else, at least to stay long enough to prevent the Acarnanians from sowing their seed. He replied that what they were proposing was the opposite of the advantageous course. "For," he said, "I shall again lead an expedition hither next summer; and the more these people sow, the more they will desire peace."

ἀπῆει πεζῇ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς ἅς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι· ἐκείνον μέντοι εἶασαν διελθεῖν· ἤλπιζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος ἔκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλυνον τριήρεσιν ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.

VII. Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἡρος πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαιναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἂν πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν σῖτον φθειρόντων ὥσπερ εἰ περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι πολιορκοῖντο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο.

- 2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὅπισθεν καταλιπόντας ὁμορον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἄργος φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἡγητέον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ ἐγένετο, ἔλθων εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζό-

<sup>1</sup> Hence, instead of crossing directly from Calydon, the army was compelled to proceed a long distance to the east-

Having said this, he departed overland through Aetolia by such roads as neither many nor few could traverse against the will of the Aetolians; they allowed him, however, to pass through; for they hoped that he would aid them to recover Naupactus. And when he reached the point opposite Rhium, he crossed over at that point and returned home; for the Athenians barred the passage from Calydon to Peloponnesus<sup>1</sup> with their triremes, using Oeniadae as a base. 389 B.C.

VII. When the winter had passed, at the very beginning of spring Agesilaus again called out the ban against the Acarnanians, in accordance with his promise to the Achaeans. But the Acarnanians, learning of this and thinking that inasmuch as their cities were in the interior they would be just as truly besieged by the people who destroyed their corn as if they were besieged by an army encamped around them, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and concluded peace with the Achaeans and an alliance with the Lacedaemonians. Thus ended the affair of the Acarnanians. 388 B.C.

After this it seemed to the Lacedaemonians that it was not safe for them to undertake a campaign against the Athenians or against the Boeotians while leaving in their rear a hostile state bordering upon Lacedaemon and one so large as that of the Argives; they accordingly called out the ban against Argos.<sup>7</sup> Now when Agesipolis learned that he was to lead the ban, and when the sacrifices which he offered at the frontier proved favourable, he went to Olympia

ward, through difficult country (see above), to reach the Strait of Rhium.

- μενος ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαιεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας. ἐκείθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν Ἀπόλλω εἰ κακείνῳ δοκοίη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα
- 3 κατὰ ταῦτά. καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκείσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐκπληξιν κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε.
- 4 Δειπνοποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐσπέρᾳ, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἤδη γενομένων, ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ᾤοντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> The calendars of different Greek states varied so much that sharp practice of the sort here alleged, i.e. shifting the times of religious festivals to meet an emergency, was not difficult or unusual. cp. ii. 16 and Thuc. v. 54.

and consulted the oracle of the god, asking whether 388 B.C. it would be consistent with piety if he did not acknowledge the holy truce claimed by the Argives; for, he urged, it was not when the appointed time came, but when the Lacedaemonians were about to invade their territory, that they pleaded the sacred months.<sup>1</sup> And the god signified to him that it was consistent with piety for him not to acknowledge a holy truce which was pleaded unjustly. Then Agesipolis proceeded straight from there to Delphi and asked Apollo in his turn whether he also held the same opinion as his father Zeus in regard to the truce. And Apollo answered that he did hold quite the same opinion. Under these circumstances Agesipolis led forth his army from Phlius—for it had been assembling for him there while he was away visiting the holy places—and entered the territory of Argos by way of Nemea. And when the Argives realized that they would not be able to hinder the invasion, they sent, as they were wont to do, two heralds, garlanded, pleading a holy truce. But Agesipolis in reply said that the gods did not think they were making this plea justly, and so he refused to acknowledge the truce, but advanced into their territory and caused great distress and terror both in the country and in the city.

Now while he was at dinner in the land of the Argives, on the first evening of his stay there, and when the after-dinner libations had just been made, the god sent an earthquake; and all the Lacedaemonians, those in the royal tent taking the lead, struck up the paean to Poseidon<sup>2</sup>; and the rest of the soldiers expected to retire from the country,

<sup>2</sup> To whom earthquakes were ascribed by the Greeks.



καὶ Ἄγις σεισμοῦ ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν  
 ἐξ Ἡλιδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν  
 μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσεις, κωλύειν ἂν  
 αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν  
 5 νομίζει· καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ  
 Ποσειδῶνι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν πόρρω εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἅτε  
 δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ  
 Ἄργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποῖ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγαγεν ὁ  
 Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποῖ τὴν χώραν ἐδήλωσεν,  
 ὥσπερ πένταθλος πάντῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλ-  
 6 λειν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ποτε βαλλόμενος  
 ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τάφρους  
 πάλιν διέβη· ἣν δ' ὅτε οἰχομένων τῶν πλείστων  
 Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν  
 προσῆλθεν ὥστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν  
 Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας  
 εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες μὴ συνεισ-  
 πέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ὥστ'  
 ἡναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς  
 τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι.  
 καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ Κρήτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν  
 καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπ-  
 7 ποι κατετοξεύθησαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἰρκ-  
 τὰς στρατοπεδευομένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς  
 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες πληγέντες,  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου  
 βουλόμενος τειχίσαι φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ

because Agis likewise, on an occasion when an earthquake took place, had withdrawn his army from Elis.<sup>1</sup> But Agesipolis said that if the god had sent an earthquake when he was about to invade, he should have thought that he was forbidding the invasion; but since he sent it after he had invaded, he believed that he was urging him on; accordingly, on the next day, after offering sacrifices to Poseidon, he again led on his forces, advancing far into the country. And inasmuch as Agesilaus had lately made an expedition into Argos, Agesipolis, finding out from the soldiers how far Agesilaus had led his army in the direction of the wall, and how far he had laid waste the land, endeavoured, like an athlete in the pentathlon, to go beyond him at every point. On one occasion it was only when he was being pelted with missiles from the towers that he recrossed the trenches around the city wall; and once, when most of the Argives were away in Laconia, he approached so near the gates that the Argives who were at the gates shut out the horsemen of the Boeotians who wanted to enter, through fear that the Lacedaemonians would rush in at the gates along with them; so that the horsemen were compelled to cling, like bats, tight to the walls beneath the battlements. And if it had not chanced that the Cretans were off on a plundering expedition to Nauplia at that time, many men and horses would have been shot down by their arrows. After this, while Agesipolis was encamping near the enclosed space,<sup>2</sup> a thunderbolt fell into his camp; and some men were killed by being struck, others by the shock. After this, desiring to fortify a garrison post at the entrance to

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* III. ii. 24.<sup>2</sup> The reference is unknown.

Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὖ ὃ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλoβα. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάβας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, ἅτε ἀπροσδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλὼν.

VIII. Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γενόμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς ἀρμοστὰς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὥς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιέν τε  
2 αὐτονόμους. οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἤδοντό τε καὶ ἐπῆνουν καὶ ξένια προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὥς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλιναι ἔσοιντο, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὥς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανῇ εἴῃ παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἴῃ μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθοιντο,  
3 συσταῖεν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δούς τετταράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρήει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν

the Argive country which leads past Mount Celusa, 333 B.C. he offered sacrifice; and the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. When this happened, he led his army away and disbanded it, having inflicted very great harm upon the Argives because he had invaded their land unexpectedly.

VIII. As for the war by land, it was being waged in the manner described. I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on, and will describe such of the events as are worthy of record, while those which do not deserve mention I will pass over. In the first place, then, Pharnabazus and Conon, after defeating the Lacedaemonians in the naval battle,<sup>1</sup> made 394 B.C. a tour of the islands and the cities on the sea coast, drove out the Laconian governors, and encouraged the cities by saying that they would not establish fortified citadels within their walls and would leave them independent. And the people of the cities received this announcement with joy and approval, and enthusiastically sent gifts of friendship to Pharnabazus. Conon, it seems, was advising Pharnabazus that if he acted in this way, all the cities would be friendly to him, but if it should be evident that he wanted to enslave them, he said that each single city was capable of making a great deal of trouble and that there was danger that the people of Greece also, if they learned of this, would become united. Pharnabazus was accordingly accepting this counsel. Then, disembarking at Ephesus, he gave Conon forty triremes and told him to meet him at Sestus, while he himself proceeded by land along the coast to his own province. For Dercylidas, who had long been

<sup>1</sup> cp. iii. 10 f.

αὐτῷ, ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὧν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμοσταὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδον καὶ διέσφζε φίλην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

- 4 Ὡς ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὖσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον ὥς εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ ὄντως ἡ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἄν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐπω ναυτικὸν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται.

- 5 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἄρμοστας φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμ-

<sup>1</sup> cp. III. i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. in flight from their several towns.

an enemy of his,<sup>1</sup> chanced to be in Abydus at the time when the naval battle took place, and he did not, like the other Lacedaemonian governors, quit the city, but took possession of Abydus and was keeping it friendly to the Lacedaemonians. For he called together the people of the town and spoke as follows :

394 B.C.

"Gentlemen, at this moment it is possible for you, who even in former days have been friends of our state, to show yourselves benefactors of the Lacedaemonians. For showing loyalty in the midst of prosperity calls for no particular admiration, but always, if men show themselves steadfast when friends have fallen upon misfortunes, this is remembered for all time. Do not suppose that just because we have been defeated in the naval battle, we are therefore ever afterward to be counted for naught. Nay, even in former times, you recall, when the Athenians were rulers of the sea, our state was able both to confer benefit upon friends and to inflict harm upon enemies. And the greater the extent to which the other cities have, along with fortune, turned away from us, by so much the greater in reality would your fidelity be made manifest. But if anyone is afraid that we may be besieged here both by land and by sea, let him reflect that there is not yet a Greek fleet on the sea, and if the barbarians shall undertake to rule the sea, Greece will not tolerate this; so that in helping herself she will also become your ally."

Upon hearing these words, the Abydenes yielded compliance, not unwillingly, but with enthusiasm, and they received kindly the Lacedaemonian governors who came to Abydus<sup>2</sup> and sent for those who were



ποντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὥς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὀκτῶ σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἤθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων ἀρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἥ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαί εἰσι καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία ἃ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. Καίτοι, ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὃ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθήσασθαι. τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι.

- 6 Ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ἤυρε τὴν τε Ἀβυδον καὶ τὸν Σηστόν οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὥς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήου τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέβαινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφασθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ' Ἑλλησποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλείστον ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθείη. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο

elsewhere. Then, after many good men had been 394 B.C. collected in the city, Dercylidas crossed over to Sestus, which is opposite Abydus and distant not more than eight stadia, gathered together all who had obtained land in the Chersonese<sup>1</sup> through the Lacedaemonians, and received also all those governors who had been driven out in like fashion from the cities on the European side, saying to them that they ought not to be discouraged, either, when they reflected that even in Asia, which had belonged from all time to the King, there was Temnus—not a large city—and Aegae and other places in which people were able to dwell without being subject to the King. “In any event,” he said, “what stronger place could you find than Sestus, what place harder to capture by siege? For it is a place which requires both ships and troops if it is to be besieged.” By such words he kept these men also from being panic-stricken.

Now when Pharnabazus found both Abydus and Sestus in this condition, he made proclamation to their inhabitants that if they did not expel the Lacedaemonians he would make war upon them. And upon their refusing to obey, he directed Conon to prevent them from sailing the sea, while he himself proceeded to lay waste the territory of the Abydenes. But failing to make any progress toward subduing them, he himself went back home, ordering Conon to try to win over the cities along the Hellespont, to the end that as large a fleet as possible might be gathered together by the coming of the spring. For he was angry with the Lacedaemonians on account of what he had suffered at their hands, and therefore desired above all things to go

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* III. ii. 10.

- ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι  
 7 ὃ τι δύναίτο. καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιοῦτοις  
 ὄντες διηγόν· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς  
 συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος  
 ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐ-  
 τοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι  
 εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον  
 μὲν εἰς Φεράς ἐδήλωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα  
 καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκα-  
 κούργει ὃ τι ἐδύνατο. φοβούμενος δὲ τὴν τε  
 ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ  
 τὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀπο-  
 πλέων ὠρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα.  
 8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων  
 φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἀλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ  
 τεῖχῃ, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν  
 Λακωνικὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθη-  
 ρίων τεῖχος φρουροὺς τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον  
 ἀρμοστήν ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ  
 ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἴσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας κατα-  
 πλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις  
 προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνε-  
 σθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα  
 9 εἶχεν, ὥχετο ἐπ' οἴκου ἀποπλέων. λέγοντος δὲ  
 τοῦ Κόνωνος ὥς εἰ ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν,  
 θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς  
 τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τεῖχῃ  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίαις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος,

to their country and take what vengeance upon them 394 B.C.  
 he could. In such occupations, accordingly, they  
 passed the winter; but at the opening of spring, 393 B.C.  
 having fully manned a large number of ships and  
 hired a force of mercenaries besides, Pharnabazus,  
 and Conon with him, sailed through the islands  
 to Melos, and making that their base, went on to  
 Lacedaemon. And first Pharnabazus put in at  
 Pherae and laid waste this region; then he made  
 descents at one point and another of the coast and  
 did whatever harm he could. But being fearful  
 because the country was destitute of harbours,  
 because the Lacedaemonians might send relief  
 forces, and because provisions were scarce in the  
 land, he quickly turned about, and sailing away,  
 came to anchor at Phoenicus in the island of Cythera.

And when those who held possession of the city  
 of the Cytherians abandoned their walls through fear  
 of being captured by storm, he allowed them to de-  
 part to Laconia under a truce, and having repaired  
 the wall of the Cytherians, left in Cythera a gar-  
 rison of his own and Nicophemus, an Athenian, as  
 governor. After doing these things and sailing to  
 the Isthmus of Corinth and there exhorting the  
 allies to carry on the war zealously and show them-  
 selves men faithful to the King, he left them all the  
 money that he had and sailed off homeward. But  
 when Conon said that if he would allow him to  
 have the fleet, he would maintain it by contributions  
 from the islands and would meanwhile put in at  
 Athens and aid the Athenians in rebuilding their  
 long walls and the wall around Piraeus,<sup>1</sup> adding that

<sup>1</sup> Destroyed at the close of the Peloponnesian War. *cp.*  
 II. ii. 20-23.

οὐ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, Καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν.

- 10 Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὥρθωσε, τά τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ἅ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐθελούσαι συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
- 11 ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένην ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις αὐτὸν ἐπιστολεὺς ὧν τρωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἑριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλιπε τὸ Ῥίον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑριππίδου ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.
- 12 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοίη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου

he knew nothing could be a heavier blow to the Lacedaemonians than this. "And by this act, therefore," he said, "you will have conferred a favour upon the Athenians and have taken vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians, inasmuch as you will undo for them the deed for whose accomplishment they underwent the most toil and trouble." Pharnabazus, upon hearing this, eagerly dispatched him to Athens and gave him additional money for the rebuilding of the walls. 393 B.C.

Upon his arrival Conon erected a large part of the wall, giving his own crews for the work, paying the wages of carpenters and masons, and meeting whatever other expense was necessary. There were some parts of the wall, however, which the Athenians themselves, as well as volunteers from Boeotia and from other states, aided in building. The Corinthians, on the other hand, manned ships with the money which Pharnabazus left, appointed Agathinus as admiral, and established their mastery of the sea in the gulf around Achaëa and Lechæum. And the Lacedaemonians on their side manned ships, which Podanemus commanded. But when he was killed in an attack which took place, and Pollis in his turn, who was vice-admiral, was wounded and went home, Herippidas took command of these ships. Proaenus, the Corinthian, however, who had succeeded to the command of the ships of Agathinus, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedaemonians took it over. After this Teleutias came to assume charge of the ships of Herippidas, and he in his turn was now master of the gulf.

Now the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing that Conon was not only rebuilding their wall for the Athenians out of the King's money, but was also, 392 B.C.



- τρέφων τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ  
θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνέμισαν,  
εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκειον Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα  
στρατηγόν, ἥ καὶ ἀποστήσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν  
Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαι γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν  
τρέφοντα. γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλ-  
κίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ  
13 ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα  
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνω-  
νος Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ  
Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρακέλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ  
τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ  
14 τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀργούς. ἐπεὶ δ'  
ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν  
Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει  
πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἷα σπερ βασιλεὺς  
ἐπεθύμει.<sup>1</sup> τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων  
πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖ-  
σθαι, τὰς τε νήσους ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι. Καίτοι,  
ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἔνεκα  
πρὸς ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς<sup>2</sup> πολεμοίῃ ἢ χρήματα δα-  
πανῶῃ; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι  
δυνατὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ'  
ἡμῖν αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων.
- 15 Τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρε-  
σκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναν-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεθύμει MSS. except B: πάλαι ἐπεθύμει Kel. with B, but doubtfully.

<sup>2</sup> Before βασιλεὺς the MSS. have οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ: Kel. brackets, following Morus.

while maintaining his fleet from the latter's funds, 392 B.C. engaged in winning over the islands and the coast cities on the mainland to the Athenians, conceived the idea that if they informed Tiribazus, who was the King's general, of these things, they could either bring Tiribazus over entirely to their side or at least put an end to his maintaining Conon's fleet. Having come to this conclusion, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus with instructions to inform Tiribazus of these facts, and to endeavour to make peace between the state and the King. But when the Athenians learned of this, they likewise sent ambassadors,—Conon at their head, and Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon. They also invited ambassadors from their allies to go with them; and ambassadors did come from the Boeotians, from Corinth, and from Argos. When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedaemonians, he said, urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent. "And yet," he said, "if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, we could not take the field against the King, either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent."

Now Tiribazus was mightily pleased at hearing the words of Antalcidas; but to the opponents of Antalcidas these proposals went no further than

τίοις λόγοι<sup>1</sup> ταῦτ' ἦν. οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφο-  
βοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς  
νῆσους εἶναι, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου  
στερηθεῖεν, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖσαν  
ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἳ τ'  
Ἀργεῖοι, οὐ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν  
Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὥς Ἄργος<sup>2</sup> ἔχειν τοιούτων  
συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ  
εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε  
ἕκαστος.

- 16 Ὁ μέντοι Τίριβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως  
μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ  
ἡγεῖτο εἶναι· λάθρα γε μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα  
Ἀνταλκίδα, ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ  
Λακεδαιμονίων οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι  
αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέοιντο, καὶ τὸν  
Κόνωνα ὥς ἀδικοῦντά τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθῆ  
λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων εἶρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας  
ἀνέβαινε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ἃ τε λέγοιεν οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφὼς εἴη ὥς  
ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ  
17 τούτων ἀπάντων. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν, ὥς Τίρι-  
βαζος ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει  
ἐπιμελησόμειον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μέντοι  
Στρούθας ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμ-  
μάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσεῖχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα  
κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου.

<sup>1</sup> λόγοι Stephanus: λόγοις MSS.: οὐ βουλομένοις Kel.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς Ἄργος Leunclavius: Kel. follows the majority of the  
MSS. in reading ὥστ' Ἄργος, but brackets the words.

words.<sup>1</sup> For the Athenians were afraid to agree that 392 B.C.  
the cities and the islands should be independent lest  
they should be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and  
Scyros<sup>2</sup>; and the Thebans, lest they should be com-  
pelled to leave the Boeotian cities independent;  
while the Argives thought that they could not keep  
Corinth as Argos,<sup>3</sup> a thing which they desired, if such  
an agreement and peace were concluded. So it was  
that this project of peace came to naught, and the  
ambassadors returned to their several homes.

As for Tiribazus, he thought that it was not safe  
for him to take the side of the Lacedaemonians with-  
out the King's approval; in secret, however, he gave  
money to Antalcidas, to the end that a fleet might  
be manned by the Lacedaemonians and thus the  
Athenians and their allies be made more desirous of  
peace, and he also imprisoned Conon, on the ground  
that he was wronging the King and that the charges  
made by the Lacedaemonians were true. After  
doing these things he proceeded to go up to the  
King for the purpose of telling him not only the  
proposals of the Lacedaemonians, but also that he  
had arrested Conon as a wrong-doer, and likewise  
to ask the King what he should do about all these  
matters. Now the King, when Tiribazus had arrived 391 B.C.  
at his capital in the interior, sent down Struthas to  
take charge of affairs on the coast. Struthas, how-  
ever, devoted himself assiduously to the Athenians  
and their allies, remembering all the harm which the  
King's country had suffered at the hands of Agesilaus.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "were words only"; i.e. were not treated as  
a reasonable basis for a peace.

<sup>2</sup> These islands were among the earliest possessions of  
Athens. They were lost at the close of the Peloponnesian  
War, but had recently been recovered. <sup>3</sup> *cp.* iv. 6.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἐώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυνος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τὴν βασιλέως.

- 18 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὅτι Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἐκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἔπεμψεν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὃ τι δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου δισκεύων μετὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς, ἅτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο.
- 19 ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλοὺς τε ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους ἱππέας. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θέρσανδρον πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους διὰ τὸ ὄψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας ἀπελείποντο.<sup>1</sup> πολλάκις γάρ, ὥς καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας τὴν βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγέννητο.

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Kel.



The Lacedaemonians accordingly, when they saw 391 B.C. that Struthas was hostile to them and friendly to the Athenians, sent Thibron to make war upon him. And Thibron, crossing over to Asia and employing as a base of operations not only Ephesus, but also the cities in the plain of the Maeander—Priene, Leucophrys, and Achilleum,—proceeded to plunder the territory of the King.

As time went on, however, Struthas, who had observed that the raiding expeditions of Thibron were in every case carried out in a disorderly and disdainful fashion, sent horsemen to the plain and ordered them to rush upon the enemy and surround and carry off whatever they could. Now it chanced that Thibron, <sup>2</sup> having finished breakfast, was engaged in throwing the discus<sup>1</sup> with Thersander, the flute-player. For Thersander was not only a good flute-player, but he also laid claim to physical strength, inasmuch as he was an imitator of things Lacedaemonian. Then J Struthas, upon seeing that the enemy were making their raid in disorder, and that the foremost of them were few in number, appeared upon the scene with a large force of horsemen, drawn up in good order. And the first whom they killed were Thibron and Thersander; and when these men fell they put to flight the rest of the army also, and in the pursuit struck down a very great many. Some of Thibron's men, however, made their escape to the friendly cities and a larger number had been left in camp because they had learned of the expedition too late. For frequently, as in this case also, Thibron undertook his expeditions without even sending out orders. Thus ended these events.

<sup>1</sup> A heavy circular flat stone. The object was to see who could make the longest throw.



- 20 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτω-  
κότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὐκ  
ἄξιον εἶη περιδεῖν Ἀθηναίους Ῥόδον καταστρε-  
ψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθεμένους.  
γνόντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος  
κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ  
πλουσιώτεροι, ἑαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς
- 21 ὁκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἐκδικον ἐπέστησαν. συνεξέ-  
πεμψαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν.  
ἐκέλευσαν δ' αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τάς  
τε Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασώζειν, καὶ  
στράτευμα τὸ περισωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο,  
εἴ ποθεν δύναιτο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς  
Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὲ Διφρίδας ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ  
τά τ' ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν τὴν  
Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρ-  
δεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων  
πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν· ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν εἶχε μι-
- 22 σθοδοτεῖν. ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ<sup>1</sup> εὐχαρὶς τε οὐχ ἥττον  
τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγ-  
χειρητικώτερος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν  
αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρὸς ᾧ  
εἶη ἔργῳ, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν.
- 23 Ὁ δ' Ἐκδικος ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κνίδον ἔπλευσε  
καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ δῆμον πάντα  
κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ  
κατὰ θάλατταν, διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς  
εἶχεν, ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακε-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνὴρ MSS.: ἀνὴρ Kel., following Dindorf.

Now when those of the Rhodians who had been 391 B.C. banished by the democratic faction came to Lacedaemon, they set forth that it was not expedient for the Lacedaemonians to allow the Athenians to subdue Rhodes and thus gain for themselves so great a power. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, realizing that if the commons should prevail, all Rhodes would belong to the Athenians, while if the wealthier classes should prevail, it would be their own possession, manned for them eight ships and appointed Ecdicus as admiral to command them. They sent out Diphridas also on board these ships, and ordered him to cross over into Asia and to keep safe the cities which had received Thibron, and then, after assuming command of that part of Thibron's army which was left alive, and after gathering another army from wherever he could, to make war upon Struthas. Diphridas accordingly set about these things, and he was successful not only in his other undertakings, but particularly in capturing Tigranes, the husband of Struthas' daughter, and his wife also, as they were journeying to Sardis, and in obtaining a large ransom for their release, so that he was at once able to hire mercenaries with the money thus obtained. This Diphridas was as a man no less attractive than Thibron, and as a general he was more self-controlled and enterprising. For the pleasures of the body did not hold the mastery over him, but in whatever task he was engaged, he always gave himself wholly to it.

As for Ecdicus, after sailing to Cnidos and learning that the commons in Rhodes were in possession of everything, and were masters both by land and by sea, having twice as many triremes as he had himself, he remained quiet in Cnidos. The Lacedaemonians,

- δαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ᾗσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἑκδικον, κακείνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἑπτὰ<sup>1</sup> ἔπλευ-
- 24 σεν εἰς Κνίδον, ὁ δ' Ἑκδικος οἴκαδε. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἥδη ἔχων ναῦς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω ἐαυτοῖς πράττοντες· οἳ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλῳ χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμπον Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα, ὃ τε Τελευτίας Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντων βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλείοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κνίδον καὶ διαθέμενος ἃ ἔλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονούσιν.
- 25 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν δύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσὶν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζων οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Kel., following Hartman.

on the other hand, when they found that he had too 391 B.C.  
 small a force to be of service to their friends, ordered  
 Teleutias, with the twelve ships which he had under  
 his command in the gulf round Achaea and Le-  
 chaeum,<sup>1</sup> to sail around to Ecdicus, send him back  
 home, and himself look after the interests of those  
 who wished to be their friends, and do whatever  
 harm he could to their enemies. And when Teleutias  
 arrived at Samos he obtained from there seven more  
 ships and sailed on to Cnidos, while Ecdicus returned  
 home. Then Teleutias continued his voyage to  
 Rhodes, having now twenty-seven ships; and while  
 sailing thither he fell in with Philocrates, the son of  
 Ephialtes, sailing with ten triremes from Athens to  
 Cyprus for the purpose of aiding Euagoras, and  
 captured all ten. Both parties were acting in this  
 affair in a manner absolutely opposed to their own  
 interests; for the Athenians, although they had the  
 King for a friend, were sending aid to Euagoras who  
 was making war upon the King, and Teleutias, al-  
 though the Lacedaemonians were at war with the  
 King, was destroying people who were sailing to  
 make war upon him. Then Teleutias, after sailing  
 back to Cnidos and selling there the booty which he  
 had captured, arrived at Rhodes on his second  
 voyage and proceeded to aid those who held to the  
 side of the Lacedaemonians.

Meanwhile the Athenians, coming to the belief 390 B.C.  
 that the Lacedaemonians were again acquiring power  
 on the sea, sent out against them Thrasybulus, of  
 the deme Steiria, with forty ships. When he had  
 sailed out, he gave up his plan of an expedition  
 to Rhodes, thinking on the one hand that he could

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* § 11.

- ῥαδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὗτ' ἂν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ
- 26 μάχῃ γε κεκρατηκότας· εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμιζε καταπράξαι ἂν τι τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκόν τε τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα ἀλλήλοισι μὲν διήλλαξεν αὐτούς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θράκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων τούτων μᾶλλον προσ-
- 27 ἔχειν ἂν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν νοῦν. ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ ἕξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει.
- 28 Ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιησάμενος ἀπέπλει ἕξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχὼν δ' ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνιζούσαις, ἐπ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἦει, πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνην



not easily punish the friends of the Lacedaemonians, 390 B.C. since they held a fortress and Teleutias was there with a fleet to support them, and, on the other hand, that the friends of his own state would not fall under the power of the enemy, since they held the cities, were far more numerous, and had been victorious in battle. Accordingly he sailed to the Hellespont, and, since there was no adversary there, thought that he could accomplish some useful service for his state. In the first place, therefore, learning that Amedocus, the king of the Odrysians, and Seuthes, the ruler of the coast region, were at variance, he reconciled them to one another and made them friends and allies of the Athenians, thinking that if they were friendly, the Greek cities situated on the Thracian coast would also show a greater inclination towards the Athenians. Then, with this matter successfully arranged, and the cities in Asia in a favourable attitude on account of the King's being a friend of the Athenians, he sailed to Byzantium and farmed out the tithe-duty on vessels sailing out of the Pontus.<sup>1</sup> He also changed the government of the Byzantines from an oligarchy to a democracy, so that the commons of Byzantium were not sorry to see the greatest possible number of Athenians present in their city.

Now after he had accomplished these things and had won over the Calchedonians also as friends, he sailed back out of the Hellespont. And finding that all the cities in Lesbos except Mytilene were on the side of the Lacedaemonians, he went against none of them until he had marshalled in Mytilene the four hundred hoplites from his own ships and all the exiles from the Lesbian cities who

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* I. i. 22 and note.



κατεπεφεύγεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους προσλαβὼν, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθεῖς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις ὥς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Λέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσιν ὥς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἴωσιν, ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἅπαντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασθῆναι, τοῖς δ' αὖ ἐπιβάταις ὥς φίλην Λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἤγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν. Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς ἀρμοστής ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὥς ἤκουσε τὸν Θρασύβουλον προσιέναι, τοὺς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτόθι, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεηλατῶν χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὥς ἐρρωμενέστατον τὸ στράτευμα ποιήσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἠργυρολόγει καὶ εἰς Ἀσπενδον ἀφικόμενος ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἤδη δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν.

had fled for refuge to Mytilene, and had also added 330 B.C.  
to this force the stoutest of the Mytilenaeans themselves; nor, furthermore, until he had suggested hopes, firstly to the Mytilenaeans, that if he captured the cities they would be the leaders of all Lesbos, secondly to the exiles, that if they proceeded all together against each single one of the cities, they would be able, acting in unison, to accomplish their restoration to their native states, and again to his marines, that by making Lesbos likewise friendly to their state they would at once obtain a great abundance of money. Then, after giving them this encouragement and marshalling them in line of battle, he led them against Methymna. Therimachus, however, who chanced to be the Lacedaemonian governor, on hearing that Thrasybulus was coming against him, took the marines from his own ships, the Methymnaeans themselves, and all the Mytilenaeon exiles who chanced to be there, and went to meet the enemy at the borders. A battle was fought in which Therimachus was killed on the spot and many of the others were killed as they fled. After this Thrasybulus brought over some of the 339 B.C.  
cities, and was busy collecting money for his soldiers by plundering from those which refused to come over; meanwhile he was eager to arrive at Rhodes. But to the end that there also he might make his army as strong as possible, he collected money from various cities, and came to Aspendus in particular and anchored in the Eurymedon river. And after he had already received money from the Aspendians, his soldiers wrongfully did some plundering from their lands; the Aspendians therefore in anger fell upon him during the night and cut him down in his tent.

- 31 Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλόμενοι ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη εἴη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῖς Φαρναβάζου εὖ ἔχοιεν, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιμελη-
- 32 τέον εἶναι. τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδᾳ οὐδὲν ἐμέμφοντο· Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἀρμοστής εἰς Ἀβυδον. εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ πολεμήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
- 33 οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν τῶν τ' Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβυδον ἀντεπεστράτενε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδήου τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν· καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε συμπληρώσας ἐξ Ἀβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας κατήγεν, εἴ τί πον λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον ἢ
- 34 τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρεῖν σφίσιν ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Θρασύβουλος,

This, then, was the end of Thrasybulus, who was 330 B.C.  
esteemed a most excellent man. And the Athenians  
chose Agyrrhius in his place, and sent him out to  
take command of the ships. The Lacedaemonians,  
on the other hand, learning that the tithe-duty on the  
vessels sailing out of the Pontus had been sold at  
Byzantium by the Athenians, that they were in  
possession of Calchedon, and that the other Helles-  
pontine cities were in a favourable attitude toward  
them because Pharnabazus was their friend, concluded  
that they must attend to this situation. They did  
not, indeed, find any fault with Dercylidas; but An-  
axibius, inasmuch as the ephors had become friends  
of his, succeeded in having himself sent out to  
Abydus as governor. And he promised that if he  
received money and ships, he would also make war  
upon the Athenians, so that matters might not  
stand so well with them in the Hellespont. Accord-  
ingly the ephors gave Anaxibius three triremes and  
money enough for a thousand mercenaries, and sent  
him out. When he had reached Abydus, his opera-  
tions by land were as follows: after collecting a  
mercenary force, he proceeded to detach some of  
the Aeolian cities from Pharnabazus, take the field in  
retaliatory expeditions against the cities which had  
made expeditions against Abydus, march upon them,  
and lay waste their territory. On the naval side, in  
addition to the ships which he had he fully manned  
three others from Abydus, and brought into port  
whatever merchant vessel he found anywhere be-  
longing to the Athenians or their allies. The Athe-  
nians, however, learning of these things, and fearing  
that the results of all Thrasybulus' work in the  
Hellespont might be ruined for them, sent out against

ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἴφικράτην ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔχοντα  
καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ  
πλείστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν.  
ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρινθον Ἄργος ἐπε-  
ποίηντο, οὐδὲν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ  
ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων· καὶ οὕτως  
35 ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήναζε οἴκοι ἔτυχεν ὧν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφί-  
κετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος  
καὶ Ἴφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν  
ἀλλήλοις· προΐοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἴφικράτης  
αἰσθόμενος<sup>1</sup> Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἄνταν-  
δρον σὺν τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ  
αὐτὸν Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις  
ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἄντανδρον φιλίαν  
προσειληφὼς εἴη, ὑπονοῶν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐτὴν  
ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύσοιτο πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι  
τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἴκαδε, διαβὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἣ  
ἐρημότατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς  
τὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐποίησατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αἱ  
διήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ  
παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη,  
ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἐπαναπεπλευ-  
36 κέναι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ' ὁ  
Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὥς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ  
τῶν ἱερῶν γεγενημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,  
ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο  
καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε τῶν ἀπαντῶν-

<sup>1</sup> After αἰσθόμενος the MSS. have καί: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.



Anaxibius Iphicrates, with eight ships and about one thousand two hundred peltasts. The greater part of these were the men whom he had commanded at Corinth.<sup>1</sup> For when the Argives had incorporated Corinth in Argos, they said that they had no need of them; for Iphicrates had put to death some of the partisans of Argos; accordingly he had returned to Athens and chanced to be at home at this time. Now when he reached the Chersonese, at first Anaxibius and he made war upon one another by sending out raiding parties; but as time went on Iphicrates found out that Anaxibius had gone to Antandrus with his mercenaries, the Lacedaemonians who were with him, and two hundred hoplites from Abydus, and heard that he had brought Antandrus into relations of friendship with him. Whereupon, suspecting that after he had also established his garrison there he would return again and bring the Abydenes back home, Iphicrates crossed over by night to the most deserted portion of the territory of Abydus, and going up into the mountains, set an ambush. Furthermore, he ordered the triremes which had brought him across the strait to sail at daybreak along the coast of the Chersonese, up the strait, in order that it might seem that he had sailed up the Hellespont to collect money, as he was wont to do. Having done all these things he was not disappointed, for Anaxibius did come marching back, even though—at least, as the story ran—his sacrifices on that day had not proved favourable; but despite that fact, filled with disdainful confidence because he was proceeding through a friendly country and to a friendly city, and because he heard from those who

<sup>1</sup> See chaps. iv. and v.



- των τὸν Ἴφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ  
 37 Προκοννήσου, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύετο. ὁμῶς δὲ ὁ  
 Ἴφικράτης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα  
 τοῦ Ἀναξίβιου ἦν, οὐκ ἐξάνιστατο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ  
 μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ παρὰ  
 Κρεμαστήν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεια  
 αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ  
 κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν  
 τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἴφικράτης ἐξάνι-  
 38 στησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν.  
 καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γνούς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας,  
 ὁρῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ  
 ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες  
 οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς  
 προεληλυθότας, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους  
 ἅπαντας, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς  
 παρόντας· Ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀπο-  
 39 θανεῖν, ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ  
 παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ  
 μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέντοι  
 αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν  
 συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἱρμοστήρων ὡς  
 δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι  
 φεύγοντες ἐπιπτον. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι τοῦ  
 ἄστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς διακόσιοι ἀπέ-  
 θανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντή-  
 κοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἴφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε  
 πάλιν εἰς Χερρόνησον.

met him that Iphicrates had sailed up in the direction of Proconnesus, he was making his march in a rather careless fashion. Nevertheless, Iphicrates did not rise from ambush so long as the army of Anaxibius was on the level ground; but when the Abydenes, who were in the van, were now in the plain of Cremaste, where their gold mines are, and the rest of the army as it followed along was on the downward slope, and Anaxibius with his Lacedaemonians was just beginning the descent, at this moment Iphicrates started his men up from their ambush and rushed upon him on the run. Then Anaxibius, judging that there was no hope of safety, inasmuch as he saw that his army extended over a long and narrow way, and thought that those who had gone on ahead would clearly be unable to come to his assistance up the hill, and since he also perceived that all were in a state of terror when they saw the ambush, said to those who were with him: "Gentlemen, it is honourable for me to die here, but do you hurry to safety before coming to close engagement with the enemy." Thus he spoke, and taking his shield from his shield-bearer, fell fighting on that spot. His favourite youth, however, remained by his side, and likewise from among the Lacedaemonians about twelve of the governors, who had come from their cities and joined him, fought and fell with him. But the rest of the Lacedaemonians fled and fell one after another, the enemy pursuing as far as the city. Furthermore, about two hundred of the other troops of Anaxibius were killed, and about fifty of the Abydene hoplites. And after accomplishing these things Iphicrates went back again to the Chersonese.



## BOOK V

## Ε

- Ι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὧν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξία χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερώς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λῆζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς
- 2 Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἶγιναν καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ,<sup>1</sup> ἐβόηθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.
- 3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται. κακεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὀρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταίνίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες

<sup>1</sup> περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

## BOOK V

I. SUCH, then, were the doings of the Athenians 389 B.C. and Lacedaemonians in the region of the Hellespont. Meanwhile Eteonicus was again in Aegina, and although previously the Aeginetans had been maintaining commercial intercourse with the Athenians, still, now that the war was being carried on by sea openly, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on everybody who so wished, to plunder Attica. Thereupon the Athenians, being cut off from supplies by the plunderers, sent to Aegina a force of hoplites and Pamphilus as their general, built a fortress as a base of attack upon the Aeginetans, and besieged them both by land and by sea with ten triremes. Teleutias, however, who chanced to have arrived on one of the islands in quest of a grant of money, upon hearing of this (that is, in regard to the building of the fortress) came to the aid of the Aeginetans; and he drove off the Athenian fleet, but Pamphilus succeeded in holding the fortress.

After this Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral. And he took over the fleet, while Teleutias, under the very happiest circumstances, set sail for home. For when he was going down to the sea as he set out for home, there was no one among the soldiers who did not grasp his hand, and one decked him with a garland, another with a fillet, and others



- ὁμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ἠύχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ.
- 4 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχάνημα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν διηγούμεαι· ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἀξιολογώτερον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.
- 5 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἰέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναὺς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἀρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ἀπὸ ψηφίσματος Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναὺς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὐτὰ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναὺς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς.
- 6 ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες καὶ Τιριβάζῳ τοῦτο ποιούντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἰγίνα, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναὺς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἰγίνα, σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε

who came too late, nevertheless, even though he 389 B.C.  
 was now under way, threw garlands into the sea and  
 prayed for many blessings upon him. Now I am  
 aware that I am not describing in these incidents  
 any enterprise involving money expended or danger  
 incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by  
 Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man's  
 while to consider what sort of conduct it was that  
 enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded  
 with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to  
 this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more  
 noteworthy than the expenditure of much money  
 and the encountering of many dangers.

As for Hierax, on the other hand, he sailed back  
 to Rhodes with the bulk of the ships, but left behind  
 him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, his  
 vice-admiral, as governor. And after this it was the  
 Athenians in the fortress who were besieged rather  
 than the Aeginetans in the city; insomuch that the  
 Athenians, by a formal decree, manned a large  
 number of ships and brought back from Aegina in  
 the fifth month the troops in the fortress. But  
 when this had been done, the Athenians were again  
 molested by the bands of raiders and by Gorgopas,  
 and they manned against these enemies thirteen  
 ships and chose Eunomus as admiral to command  
 them. Now while Hierax was at Rhodes the Lacedaemonians sent out Antalcidas as admiral, thinking  
 that by doing this they would most please Tiribazus  
 also. And when Antalcidas arrived at Aegina, he  
 took with him the ships of Gorgopas and sailed to  
 Ephesus, then sent Gorgopas back again to Aegina  
 with his twelve ships, and put Nicolochus, his 388 B.C.

τὸν ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν  
 Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς  
 Τένεδον ἐδήου τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν  
 7 ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἀβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων  
 στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ  
 Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν  
 τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὥς δ' ἦσθοντο εἰς Ἀβυδον κατα-  
 πεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρο-  
 νήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ  
 εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ  
 μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περι-  
 τυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ· καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς  
 Αἴγινα μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν. ἐκβιβάσας  
 8 δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ὁ δ' Εὐνομος  
 ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ'  
 ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφη-  
 γεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἐπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ  
 Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ  
 τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς  
 εἶη μηδ' αἰσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν  
 κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ  
 9 τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς  
 τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστήρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ  
 σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν  
 τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι<sup>1</sup> ὠρμίζοντο,  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν  
 σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἔτι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon 388 B.C.  
 Nicolochus, seeking to aid the people of Abydus, proceeded to sail thither; he turned aside, however, to Tenedos and laid waste its territory, and having obtained money there, sailed on to Abydus. Then the generals of the Athenians gathered together from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that region, and set out to aid the people of Tenedos. But upon learning that Nicolochus had put in at Abydus they then, setting out from the Chersonese as a base, blockaded him and his twenty-five ships with the thirty-two ships under their command. As for Gorgopas, on his voyage back from Ephesus he fell in with Eunomus, and for the moment took refuge in Aegina, reaching there a little before sunset. Then he at once disembarked his men and gave them dinner. Meanwhile Eunomus, after waiting a short time, sailed off. And when night came on he led the way, carrying a light, as the custom is, so that the ships which were following him might not go astray. Then Gorgopas immediately embarked his men and followed on in the direction of the light, keeping behind the enemy so that he should not be visible or give them a chance to notice him; while his boatswains gave the time by clicking stones together instead of with their voices, and made the men employ a sliding motion of the oars. But when the ships of Eunomus were close to the shore near Cape Zoster in Attica, Gorgopas gave the order by the trumpet to sail against them. And as for Eunomus, the men on some of his ships were just disembarking, others were still occupied in coming to anchor, and others were even yet on their way toward the shore. Then, a battle being fought by moonlight, Gorgopas

ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ὥχετο ἄγων εἰς Αἶγιναν. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

- 10 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρα, πελταστάς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλίτας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἶγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ ξυνέκειτο, ἤκου' οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλῖται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἐκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριφυργία
- 11 καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετὰ τε τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ' ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὃ τι
- 12 ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὄπλον ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον. ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὀπλῖται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμνηκότες οὐκ ἐλάτ-



captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, 388 B.C. carried them off to Aegina; but the other ships of the Athenians made their escape to Piraeus.

After this Chabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night he himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Heracleium. Then at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demaenetus, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Heracleium, where the so-called Tripyrgia<sup>1</sup> is. On hearing of this Gorgopas sallied forth to the rescue with the Aeginetans, the marines from his ships, and eight Spartiatae who chanced to be there. He also made proclamation that all freemen among the crews of the ships should come with him, so that many of these also joined the relief force, each man with whatever weapon he could get. Now when those in the van had passed by the ambush, Chabrias and his followers rose up and immediately threw javelins and stones upon the enemy. And the hoplites who had disembarked from the ships also advanced upon them. Then those in the van, inasmuch as they were not a compact mass, were quickly killed, among whom were Gorgopas and the Lacedaemonians; and when these had fallen the rest also were put to flight. And there fell about one hundred and fifty Aeginetans and not less than two hundred foreigners, aliens resident in Aegina, and sailors who

<sup>1</sup> The reference is uncertain.



13 τους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἑτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὐ<sup>1</sup> ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἤκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιάδε·

14 Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἤκω· εἰ μὲντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυμήσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὥς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὐχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἥττον ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τά τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσαιτε μὲν ἂν ἴσως, εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέωκτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεώξεται δὲ καὶ νῦν.

15 ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἂν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν με ὁρᾶτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθόν τι

16 λαμβάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἢ ἡμετέρα, ἢ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ

<sup>1</sup> After αὐ the MSS. read ἐπὶ ταύτῃ : Kel. brackets.

had hurriedly rushed ashore. After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors refused to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, because he did not give them pay. 333 B.C.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral. And when the sailors saw that he had come, they were delighted beyond measure. And he called them together and spoke as follows: "Fellow soldiers, I have come without money; yet if God be willing and you perform your part zealously, I shall endeavour to supply you with provisions in the greatest abundance. And be well assured that, whenever I am in command of you, I pray just as earnestly for your lives as for my own. As to provisions, you would be surprised, perhaps, if I should say that I am more desirous of your being supplied than of being supplied myself; indeed, by the gods, I should prefer to go without food myself for two days than to have you go without for one. And just as my door was open in days past, as you know, for him to enter who had any request to make of me, so likewise it shall be open now. Therefore, when you have provisions in abundance, then you will see me also living bounteously; but if you see me submitting to cold and heat and night-watching, expect to endure all these things yourselves. For I do not bid you do any of these things that you may suffer discomfort, but that from them you may gain something good. And Sparta too," he added, "that Sparta of ours, fellow soldiers, which is accounted so prosperous—she, be well assured, won her prosperity and her

- ῥαθυμούσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὅποτε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως
- 17 μὲν ξυμπονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ ξυνευδαιμονῶμεν. τί γὰρ ἡδίου ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὄθεν περ κάλλιστον; ἡ γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.
- 18 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν ὃ τι αὖν δέη, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· "Ἀγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἅπερ καὶ ὡς ἐμέλλετε προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι<sup>1</sup> μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἦκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύσωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιξόμενοι.
- 19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ δέ τις ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐν-
- 20 νοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολλώ-  
λότος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμούσαι, ἀσφαλέ-

<sup>1</sup> Kel., following Hartman, regards the text of the preceding line (ἅπερ . . . μοι) as corrupt.

glory, not by careless idling, but by being willing 383 B.C.  
 to undergo both toils and dangers whenever there  
 was need. Now you in like manner were in former  
 days, as I know, good men; but now you must strive  
 to prove yourselves even better men, in order that,  
 just as we gladly undergo toils together, so we may  
 gladly enjoy good fortune together. For what greater  
 gladness can there be than to have to flatter no one  
 in the world, Greek or barbarian, for the sake of  
 pay, but to be able to provide supplies for oneself,  
 and what is more, from the most honourable source?  
 For be well assured that abundance gained in war  
 from the enemy yields not merely sustenance, but  
 at the same time fair fame among all men."

Thus he spoke, and they all set up a shout, bidding  
 him give whatever order was needful, in the assur-  
 ance that they would obey. Now he chanced to  
 have finished sacrificing, and he said: "Come, my  
 men, get dinner, just as you were intending to do  
 anyway; and provide yourselves, I beg you, with  
 food for one day. Then come to the ships right  
 speedily, that we may sail to the place where God  
 wills that we go, and may arrive in good time."  
 And when they had come he embarked them upon  
 the ships and sailed during the night to the harbour  
 of the Athenians, now letting the men rest and  
 bidding them get a little sleep, and now setting  
 them at the oars. But if anyone supposes that it  
 was madness for him to sail with twelve triremes  
 against men who possessed many ships, let such a  
 one consider Teleutias' calculations. He conceived  
 that the Athenians were more careless about their  
 fleet in the harbour now that Gorgopas was dead;  
 and even if there were triremes at anchor there,

- στερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὔσας  
 πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἕξω ἦδει  
 ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἔμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν  
 δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι  
 οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλη σκη-  
 21 νήσοιεν. ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ἀπείχε πέντε ἢ ἕξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυ-  
 χίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέβαινεν,  
 ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύνειν μὲν  
 οὐδὲν εἶα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι  
 ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δέ που τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὀρ-  
 μοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἁπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ  
 φορηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους ἄγειν  
 ἕξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύ-  
 ναιτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δέ τινες  
 οἳ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῦγμα ἐμπόρους τέ-  
 τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς  
 22 εἰσήνεγκαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ  
 Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν ἔθεον ἕξω,  
 σκεψόμενοι τίς ἢ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἕξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ  
 τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστν ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες  
 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὀπλῖται καὶ  
 23 ἵππεῖς, ὥς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων  
 τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ  
 ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἅτε ἐκ  
 τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε

<sup>1</sup> A quay where merchants displayed (cp. δέικνυμι) their wares.



he believed that it was safer to sail against twenty 388 B.C. ships which were at Athens than against ten elsewhere. For in the case of ships that were abroad he knew that the sailors would be quartered on board their several ships, while with ships at Athens he was aware that the captains would be sleeping at home and the sailors quartered here and there. These, then, were the considerations which he had weighed before he sailed; and when he was distant from the harbour five or six stadia, he remained quiet and let his men rest. Then, as day was dawning, he led on and they followed. Now he forbade them to sink or harm any merchant vessel with their own ships; but if they saw a trireme at anchor anywhere, he ordered them to try to make her unseaworthy, and furthermore, to bring out in tow the merchant ships which were loaded, and to board the larger ones wherever they could and take off their people. Indeed, there were some of his men who even leaped ashore on to the Deigma,<sup>1</sup> seized merchants and owners of trading vessels, and carried them aboard the ships. He, then, succeeded in accomplishing these things. But as for the Athenians, some of them, upon hearing the uproar, ran from their houses into the streets to see what the shouting meant, others ran from the streets to their homes to get their weapons, and still others to the city to carry the news. Then all the Athenians, hoplites and horsemen, rushed to the rescue, thinking that Piraeus had been captured. But Teleutias sent off the captured merchant vessels to Aegina and gave orders that three or four of the triremes should convoy them thither, while with the rest of the triremes he coasted along the shore of Attica and, inasmuch as he was sailing out of the harbour, captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-



- καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἔλθων καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μὲν τινὰς σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν
- 24 εἰς Αἶγιναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέον ἐλάβανεν ὃ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.
- 25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἴφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ᾤχετο εἰς Ἀβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὥς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἤσυχίαν εἶχεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκουνήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκείνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἀβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἵκοσιν ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμ-

boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands. And on coming to Sunium he captured trading vessels also, some of them full of corn, others of merchandise. Having done all these things he sailed back to Aegina, and when he had sold his booty he gave the soldiers a month's pay in advance. He likewise from that time forth cruised round and captured whatever he could. And by doing these things he maintained his ships with full complements of sailors, and kept his soldiers in a state of glad and prompt obedience. 388 B.C.

And now Antalcidas returned with Tiribazus from the Persian capital, having effected an agreement that the King should be an ally of the Lacedaemonians if the Athenians and their allies refused to accept the peace which he himself directed them to accept. But when Antalcidas heard that Nicolochus with his ships was being blockaded at Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went overland to Abydus. And from there he set out during the night with the fleet, after spreading a report that the Calchedonians were sending for him; then he came to anchor at Percote and remained quiet there. Now the Athenian forces under Demaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phantias, upon learning of his departure, followed after him in the direction of Proconnesus; and when they had sailed past him, Antalcidas turned about and came back to Abydus, for he had heard that Polyxenus was approaching with the ships from Syracuse and Italy, twenty in number, and he wished to join these also to his command. But soon after this Thrasybulus, of the deme Collytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian 387 B.C.

- 27 μείξαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναῦτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὥς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατεῖλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἀλίσκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων
- 28 ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἥλωσαν ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἵ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατῆς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ὥχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατῆγεν.
- 29 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρώντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον καταπολεμηθεῖσαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγεννημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς

ships. And Antalcidas, when his scouts signalled to him that eight triremes were approaching, embarked the sailors on twelve of his fastest ships, gave orders that if anyone was lacking men, he should fill up his crew from the ships left behind, and lay in wait with the utmost possible concealment. Then, as the enemy were sailing past him, he pursued; and they, upon seeing him, fled. Now he speedily succeeded in overhauling the slowest of the enemy's ships with his fastest; but giving orders to the leaders of his own fleet not to attack the hindmost ships, he continued the pursuit of those which were ahead. And when he had captured them, those who were behind, upon seeing that the leaders of their fleet were being taken, out of discouragement were themselves taken even by the slower ships of Antalcidas; and the result was that all the ships were captured. And after the twenty ships from Syracuse had come and joined Antalcidas, and the ships from all that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master had also come, and more still had been manned from the territory of Ariobarzanes—for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus had at this time gone up to the capital in response to a summons, this being the occasion when he married the King's daughter—then Antalcidas, the whole number of his ships amounting to more than eighty, was master of the sea, so that he also prevented the ships from the Pontus from sailing to Athens, and compelled them to sail to the ports of his people's allies. The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's ships were many, fearing that they might be completely subdued, as they had been before, now that the King had become an ally of the Lacedaemonians, and

387 B.C

- Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλοιντο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίστουν, μὴ ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἷ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ
- 30 οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακούσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.
- 31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Δήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> βουλομένων καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.
- 32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεωι πρέσβεις, ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα MSS.: ταῦτὰ Kel.



being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for 357 B.C. these reasons were exceedingly desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaem and another at Orchomenus, keeping watch upon their allied states—those which they trusted, to prevent their being destroyed, and those which they distrusted, to prevent their revolting—and suffering and causing trouble around Corinth, were out of patience with the war. As for the Argives, knowing that the Lacedaemonian ban had been called out against them, and being aware that their plea of the sacred months<sup>1</sup> would no longer be of any help to them, they also were eager for peace. So that when Tiribazus ordered those to be present who desired to give ear to the peace which the King had sent down, all speedily presented themselves. And when they had come together, Tiribazus showed them the King's seal and then read the writing. It ran as follows:

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.”

Upon hearing these words the ambassadors from the various states reported them to their own several

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* iv. vii. 2 f. and note.



- πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμ-  
 πεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν ὑπὲρ πάν-  
 των Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη  
 δέξασθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, εἰ μὴ ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ  
 τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι  
 καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θη-  
 βαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα  
 σφίσι ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ  
 ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ  
 μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν  
 33 δὴ ὥχοντο. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θη-  
 βαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς  
 ἐφόρους εὐθύς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ δια-  
 βατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν  
 μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσοντας,  
 διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγούς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ  
 αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
 λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιλῶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ  
 οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὔκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι  
 34 δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐ-  
 τονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὖ  
 Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρου-  
 ράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε,  
 τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, τοῖς  
 δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον  
 ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφο-  
 τέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἦ

<sup>1</sup> Lacedaemonian officers who assembled and commanded the contingents of the allies.

states. And all the others swore that they would 387 B.C.  
steadfastly observe these provisions, but the Thebans  
claimed the right to take the oath in the name of  
all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to  
accept their oaths unless they swore, just as the  
King's writing directed, that every city, whether  
small or great, should be independent. But the  
ambassadors of the Thebans said that these were  
not the instructions which had been given them.  
"Go then," said Agesilaus, "and ask your people;  
and report to them this also, that if they do not so  
act, they will be shut out from the treaty." The  
Theban ambassadors accordingly departed. Agesi-  
laus, however, on account of his hatred for the  
Thebans, did not delay, but after winning over the  
ephors proceeded at once to perform his sacrifices.  
And when the offering at the frontier proved favour-  
able, upon his arrival at Tegea he sent horsemen  
hither and thither among the Perioeci to hasten  
their coming, and likewise sent mustering officers<sup>1</sup> to  
the various cities of the allies. But before he had  
set out from Tegea, the Thebans arrived with word  
that they would leave the cities independent. And  
so the Lacedaemonians returned home and the  
Thebans were forced to accede to the treaty, allow-  
ing the Boeotian cities to be independent. But the  
Corinthians, on the other hand, would not dismiss  
the garrison maintained in their city by the Argives.  
Agesilaus, however, made proclamation to these  
peoples also, saying to the Corinthians that if they  
did not dismiss the Argives, and to the Argives  
that if they did not depart from Corinth, he would  
make war upon them. And when, as a result of the  
fear which seized both peoples, the Argives departed

τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες<sup>1</sup> κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρὸςθεν φεύγοντας.

- 35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὤμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ<sup>2</sup> εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώτη  
36 τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτόνομους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὐπὲρ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπασσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

II. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὥς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, τούτους κολάσαι καὶ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκόντες MSS.: ἄκοντες Kel.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ MSS. except B: ἐν τῇ Kel. with B.

and the state of the Corinthians regained its self-government, the authors of the massacre<sup>1</sup> and those who shared the responsibility for the deed withdrew of their own accord from Corinth, while the rest of the citizens willingly received back the former exiles. 387 B.C.

When these things had been accomplished and the states had sworn that they would abide by the treaty which the King had proposed, thereupon the armies were disbanded and the naval armaments were likewise disbanded. Thus it was that this peace was established between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies, the first since the outbreak of the war which followed the destruction of the walls of Athens. Now while in the war the Lacedaemonians were no more than holding their own with their antagonists, yet as a result of the so-called Peace of Antalcidas they gained a far more distinguished position. For by having become champions of the treaty proposed by the King and by establishing the independence of the cities they gained an additional ally in Corinth, made the Boeotian cities independent of the Thebans, a thing which they had long desired, and also put a stop to the doings of the Argives in appropriating Corinth as their own, by threatening to call out the ban against them if they did not depart from Corinth.

II. Since in all this matters had proceeded as they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they 386 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* IV. iv. 2.

- σκενάσαι ὥς μὴ δύναιτο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τείχος περιαιρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 2 γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὥς σίτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, καὶ ὥς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὥς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξελυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινεΐᾳ μάχην τριακονταετείς γενόμεναι.  
 3 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

- Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Πausανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινεΐᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας.  
 4 ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδήουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καθῆρουν τὰ τεῖχη, τάφρον ὠρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν

could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent 386 B.C. to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. For they said they had noted not only that the Mantineans had been sending corn to the Argives when they themselves were making war upon that people, but also that sometimes, on the pretext of a holy truce, they had not served in the Lacedaemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befel them.<sup>1</sup> It was also common talk that the thirty years' truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea,<sup>2</sup> had expired this year, so far as the Mantineans were concerned. When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them.

Now Agesilaus requested the state to relieve him of the command of this expedition, saying that the city of the Mantineans had rendered his father many services in the wars against Mesene; Agesipolis, therefore, led forth the ban, even 385 B.C. though his father, Pausanias,<sup>3</sup> was on exceedingly friendly terms with the leaders of the popular party in Mantinea. And when he had entered Mantinean territory, he first laid waste the land; but since even then they would not tear down the walls, he proceeded to dig a trench round about the city, with one half of the soldiers sitting under arms in front of the diggers to protect them, and the other half

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* IV. v. 18.

<sup>2</sup> In 418 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Who was still living, though deposed and in exile. *cp.* III. v. 25.



ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλῳ τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠκοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη.

5 ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας ἤρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ ἐμηχανῶντο ὥς μὴ πίπτει ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δέισαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιτο, ὠμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσασθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ διοικιοῖντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ

6 ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀπεί-

working. And after the trench had been completed, 385 B.C.  
he then without risk built a wall round about the city.  
Learning, however, that the corn supply in the city  
was abundant, since there had been a good harvest  
the previous year, and thinking that it would be a  
grievous thing if it should prove necessary to burden  
both his state and its allies for a long period with  
campaigns, he dammed up the river which flowed  
through the city; and it was a very large one.  
Its outflow being thus checked, the water rose not  
only above the foundations of the houses but above  
those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks  
became soaked and failed to support those above  
them, the wall began first to crack and then to give  
way. And the Mantineans for a time tried to prop  
it up with timbers, and sought contrivances to pre-  
vent the tower from falling; but when they were no  
longer able to resist the water, being seized with  
the fear that if any portion of the encircling wall  
fell they would become prisoners of war, they offered  
to agree to tear down their walls. The Lacedae-  
monians, however, said that they would not make  
peace with them except on condition that they should  
also dwell apart in villages. And they for their  
part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary,  
agreed that they would do this also. Now the  
partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular  
party expected that they would be put to death,  
but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the  
promise that safety should be granted them as they  
departed from the city, being sixty in number. So  
on both sides of the road, beginning at the city  
gates, stood the Lacedaemonians with their spears,  
watching those who were coming out. And

χοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾶον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων.  
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.  
7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διωκίσθη  
δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
ᾠκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν  
ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ  
οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύ-  
τερον μὲν ᾠκουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ  
τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκρατία δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλα-  
γμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἡδοντο  
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἑν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην  
ἐκάστην ξεναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν  
κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο.  
καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο,  
σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειούντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι  
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμ-  
μάχων ὁποῖοί τινες ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς  
ἐγεγέννητο, καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς  
Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς ἕως μὲν σφεῖς  
οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
μονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι  
ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἐξέβαλον, ὥς ἔπε-  
σθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάντων

<sup>1</sup> After σφᾶς the MSS. have αὐτοὶ (or αὐτοὺς): Kel. brackets, following Bisschop.

although they hated them, nevertheless they kept 383 B.C.  
 their hands off them more easily than did the Mantineans belonging to the aristocratic party. Let this, then, stand recorded as a striking example of good discipline.

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least—not to let a river run through city walls.

And now the exiles from Phlius, as they observed 384 B.C.  
 that the Lacedaemonians were investigating to see what sort of friends their several allies had proved to be to them during the war, thinking that it was an opportune time, proceeded to Lacedaemon and set forth that so long as they were at home in Phlius, the city had received the Lacedaemonians within its walls, and its people had gone with them on their campaigns wherever they led the way; but that after the Phliasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to

- ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχονται εἴσω τῶν  
 9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον  
 ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἔλεγον ὥς φίλοι μὲν  
 οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλει εἶεν, ἀδι-  
 κοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἄξιον δ' ἔφασαν μὴ  
 ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι  
 κατελθεῖν αὐτούς. ἃ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι  
 ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιντο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν  
 ἔνδοθεν παρείησάν τινες αὐτούς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.  
 καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν τῶν φευ-  
 γόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὲ ἐν ταῖς  
 πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες  
 10 πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλουντο τὴν φυγὴν. τοι-  
 αῦτα μὲν δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχε-  
 σθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι  
 τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πρια-  
 μένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ  
 τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη δια-  
 κριθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων  
 φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.  
 11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγι-  
 σται τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφί-  
 κοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι  
 ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν  
 12 ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὲ Κλει-  
 γένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί  
 τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα

receive the Lacedaemonians—and them alone of all men—within their gates. When the ephors heard these things, they decided that the matter deserved attention. Accordingly they sent to the city of the Phliasians and said that the exiles were friends of the Lacedaemonian state and had been exiled for no wrong-doing. They said further that they deemed it proper to effect their return from banishment, not by compulsion, but by voluntary consent of the Phliasians. Upon hearing this the Phliasians conceived the fear that if the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against them, some of the people within the walls would let them into the city. For not only were there many kinsmen of the exiles in the city, and people who were friendly to them for other reasons, but also, as is indeed usual in most cities, some desired a change of government and therefore wanted to bring back the exiles. On account, then, of such fears, the Phliasians voted to take back the exiles and to restore to them their undisputed property, those who had purchased such property to recover the price of it from the public treasury; and if any dispute should arise in any case between these purchasers and the exiles, it was to be settled by legal process. Thus ended, in its turn, this incident of the Phliasian exiles at that time. 334 B.C.

Then there came ambassadors to Lacedaemon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest of the cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. And when the ephors heard with what object they had come, they brought them before the Lacedaemonian assembly and the allies. Thereupon Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, we think you are unaware that 333 B.C.



- μέγα φύομενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ᾧτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ
- 13 Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν.
- 14 Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολίται εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλίται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὀκτακοσίων,<sup>1</sup> πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ τοσούτοι· ἵππεῖς γε μέντοι, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν
- 15 γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὥς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας

<sup>1</sup> ὀκτακοσίων: Kel. marks this word as corrupt. The number seems far too small.

a great danger is springing up in Greece. To be sure, 383 B.C.  
 almost all of you know that Olynthus is the largest  
 of the cities on the coast of Thrace. These Olyn-  
 thians, in the first place, attached to themselves some  
 of the cities with the provision that all should live  
 under the same laws and be fellow-citizens, and then  
 they took over some of the larger cities also. After  
 this they undertook, further, to free the cities of  
 Macedonia from Amyntas, king of the Macedonians.  
 And when the nearest of them gave their allegi-  
 ance, they speedily proceeded against those which  
 were farther away and larger; and we left them al-  
 ready in possession of a great number of Macedonian  
 cities, including especially Pella, which is the largest  
 of the cities in Macedonia. We also had information  
 that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities and  
 had already been all but driven out of all Macedonia.  
 The Olynthians, furthermore, sent to us and to the  
 Apollonians and announced to us that if we did not  
 present ourselves to join them in their campaigns,  
 they would come against us.

“As for ourselves, however, men of Lacedaemon,  
 we desire to live under the laws of our fathers and  
 to be citizens of our own city; but unless some one  
 shall come to our aid, it will be necessary for us  
 also to be united with them. And yet at this moment  
 they already have not less than eight hundred hop-  
 lites and far more than that number of peltasts;  
 while as for horsemen, if we also become united with  
 them, they will have more than one thousand. Again,  
 we left ambassadors-both of the Athenians and of  
 the Boeotians already there. And we heard reports  
 that the Olynthians on their side had voted to send  
 ambassadors with them to these states in regard to

- τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁράτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποτειδαίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὔσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηται. μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν
- 16 διδασκούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἐν εἴῃ, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροισομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελήσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυ-
- 17 σιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θυράκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους<sup>1</sup> ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένειτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριολεκτόν ἐστί.
- 18 τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνους MSS.: ἐκείνοις Kel.

the matter of an alliance. Now if so great a power 383 B.C. is to be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care," he said, "lest you find that situation no longer easy to handle. Furthermore, since the Olynthians are in possession of Potidaea, which is on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the cities included within Pallene will also be subject to them. And let this fact also be a further evidence to you that these cities have come to fear the Olynthians mightily—that although they feel the utmost hatred toward the Olynthians, nevertheless they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to set forth these things. You should consider this question also, how you can consistently, after having taken care in the case of Boeotia to prevent its being united, nevertheless disregard the gathering of a much greater power, and what is more, a power which is becoming strong not by land only, but also by sea. For what indeed is there to hinder such expansion, seeing that the country itself possesses ship-timber and has revenues from many ports and many trading-places, and likewise an abundant population on account of the abundance of food? And further, mark you, they have for neighbours those Thracians who are under no king. They even now are paying court to the Olynthians; and if they should come under their sway, this also would be a great power added to the Olynthians. Then, if the Thracians were their followers, straightway the gold mines of Mount Pangaeum also would beckon to them. And there is not one of these things which we say which is not also said thousands of times among the people of Olynthus. As for their pride, how could one describe it? For the

γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὖξασθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰ κεῖ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευέσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὥς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὕτω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὗται, ἃν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ 19 ἀποστήσονται· εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γινώσκονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τά τε αὐτῶν σφύζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὖλυτα ἔσται.

20 Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὃ τι γινώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους 21 σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναιῶν κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἱππέας τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων

deity, perhaps, has so ordered it that men's pride 333 B.C.  
should increase with their power.

"We, then, men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, report that such are the conditions there; it is for you to deliberate as to whether they seem to deserve attention. But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror—even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others—then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up."

When these things had been said, the Lacedaemonians gave their allies permission to speak and bade them advise whatever course anyone of them deemed best both for Peloponnesus and for the allies. Thereupon many, especially those who desired to gratify the Lacedaemonians, advocated raising an army, and it was decided that each state should send its proportionate contingent for an army of ten thousand. Proposals were also made that any state which so desired should be allowed to give money instead of men, three Aeginetan<sup>1</sup> obols per day for each man, while if any state normally furnished horsemen, pay equal to that of four hoplites should be given for

<sup>1</sup> The Aeginetan obol was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic; *cp.* I. v. 5.



- 22 ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἵππῃ δίδοσθαι· εἰ δέ τις  
τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν,<sup>1</sup> ἐξεῖναι Λακε-  
δαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιοῦν στατῆρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα
- 23 τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ  
Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὥς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν  
εἶη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περαν-  
θῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ  
παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὥς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελ-  
θεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνός τε,  
ὅση ἂν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων·  
τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τὰς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρη-  
κυίας πόλεις στήναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας
- 24 ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων,  
ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ  
σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμῶδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ  
τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὥς δισχιλίους. ὁ μὲντοι  
Εὐδαμίδας ἐξίων Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη  
τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ  
προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ  
ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν  
δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτεί-  
δαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκούσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη  
ἐκείνων οὔσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει  
ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.
- 25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπο-  
λειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπο-

<sup>1</sup> στρατιάν MSS.: στρατείαν Kel.

each horseman; and if any one of the states should 883 B.C.  
fail to send its contingent to the army, the Lacedaemonians were to be permitted to fine such state a stater<sup>1</sup> per day for each man. When these things had been decided upon, the Acanthians rose again and declared that while these measures were excellent, it nevertheless was not possible for them to be speedily carried out. They said it was better, therefore, that while this expedition was gathering, a commander should set out with all possible speed with a force from Lacedaemon, of such size as could take the field quickly, and likewise from the other states; for if this were done, the cities which had not yet gone over to the Olynthians would take no step in that direction, and those which had been coerced would be less likely to continue in alliance with them. This plan also was adopted, and the Lacedaemonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him emancipated Helots and men of the Perioeci and the Sciritans<sup>2</sup> to the total number of about two thousand. Now Eudamidas on setting out requested the ephors to allow Phoebidas, his brother, to gather together all the troops assigned to him which were left behind and to follow after him; as for himself, when he reached the region of the Thracian coast, he sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, gained possession of Potidaea, which came over voluntarily, although it was already an ally of the Olynthians, and making that city his base of operations, carried on war in the way one naturally would who had an inferior force.

Then Phoebidas, after he had gathered together the remaining portion of Eudamidas' troops, took

<sup>1</sup> i.e. two drachmas.

<sup>2</sup> A people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia.

- ρεύετο. ὥς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπε-  
 δεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον  
 στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες  
 μὲν ἐτυγχانون Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διά-  
 φοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος  
 τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ.  
 ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν,  
 26 καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσφκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ  
 Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυ-  
 τοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης  
 ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θή-  
 βας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν  
 27 τοῖς ὑμετέροισι φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν,  
 ὥς ὀρᾷς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρα-  
 τεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ  
 ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς  
 μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμψομεν·  
 ὥστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ  
 ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι,  
 σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πό-  
 28 λιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας  
 ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι λογι-  
 στικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέ-

them under his command and began his march. And 383 B.C. when they arrived in the district of Thebes, they encamped outside the city, near the gymnasium. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs,<sup>1</sup> were at variance with one another, and both of them leaders of their respective political clubs. Hence Ismenias, on account of his hatred for the Lacedæmonians, did not even go near Phoebidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with him, spoke to him as follows: "Phoebidas, it is within your power this day to render the greatest service to your fatherland; for if you will follow me with your hoplites, I will lead you into the Acropolis. And this once accomplished, be sure that Thebes will be completely under the control of the Lacedæmonians and of us who are your friends; whereas now, as you see, proclamation has been made forbidding any Theban from serving with you against the Olynthians. But if you join with us and accomplish this deed, we will at once send with you many hoplites and many horsemen; so that you will go to the aid of your brother with a large force, and while he is getting ready to subdue Olynthus, you will already have subdued Thebes, a far greater state than Olynthus." When Phoebidas heard this, he was filled with buoyant hopes; for he was a man with a far greater passion for performing some brilliant achievement than for life itself, although, on the other hand, he was not regarded as one who weighed his acts or had much practical wisdom. And when he had agreed to the plan, Leontiades directed him to set out on

<sup>1</sup> The polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes.

- λευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιεναι· Ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἦ καιρός, πρὸς σέ ἤξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ
- 29 Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτός σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδούς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κέλεύοι, εὐθύς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.
- 30 ἔλθων δὲ εἶπε τάδε· "Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασι πολέμιοι ἤκειν, ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμοποιούντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες
- 31 ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα παρῆσάν τε καὶ ἐπέιθοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδόντων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθύς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἵκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον

<sup>1</sup> The Theban Acropolis, which was the usual meeting-place of the senate.

his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebes. 383 B.C.  
 "And when the proper time arrives," said Leontiades,  
 "I will return to you and act as your guide myself."  
 Accordingly, while the senate was in session in the  
 portico in the market-place, for the reason that the  
 women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmo-  
 phoria in the Cadmea,<sup>1</sup> and while, inasmuch as it was  
 summer and midday, the streets were entirely  
 deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horse-  
 back to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led  
 him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing  
 Phoebidas there with the troops under his command,  
 giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to  
 let no one into the Acropolis unless he himself so  
 ordered, he proceeded at once to the meeting of the  
 senate. And when he had arrived there, he spoke  
 as follows: "Be not at all despondent, gentlemen,  
 because the Lacedaemonians are in possession of the  
 Acropolis; for they say that they have not come as  
 enemies to anyone who is not eager for war; as for  
 me, since the law directs that a polemarch shall  
 have power to arrest any man who seems to be  
 doing deeds which deserve death, I arrest Ismenias  
 here, as an instigator of war. Therefore do you  
 captains, and you who have been detailed with  
 them, arise, seize this man, and lead him away to  
 the place where you have been directed to take  
 him." Now those who knew of the plan were of  
 course present, obeyed the order, and seized Isme-  
 nias; but of those who did not know about it and  
 were opponents of Leontiades and his party, some  
 fled at once out of the city, fearing that they would  
 be put to death; others withdrew at first to their  
 homes; when they learned, however, that Ismenias



τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ἤσθοντο ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταῦτά γινώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἴσμηνίᾳ μάλιστα τριακόσιοι.

32 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἄλλον εἵλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθύς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ἤνυρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλήθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερά τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχὼς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. Αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἐστὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα.

33 Ἐπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑώρατε γὰρ αἰεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεῦν; Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς<sup>1</sup>

34 εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἑώρων, ἐπεστράτευν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν αἰεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ὑμᾶς MSS.: ὑμῖν Kel.

was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who 383 B.C.  
held the same views as Androcleidas and Ismenias  
retired to Athens, to the number of about three —  
hundred.

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. "It is precisely this point, therefore," he said, "which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state."

Then Leontiades came before the assembly and spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that the Thebans were hostile to you before what has now been done came to pass, you were wont to say yourselves; for you saw that they were always friendly to your enemies, and enemies to your friends. Did they not refuse to join you in the campaign against the Athenian commons in Piraeus, who were bitter enemies of yours, and did they not, on the other hand, march against the Phocians because they saw that you were well disposed towards them? Again, knowing that you were making war upon the Olynthians, they undertook to conclude an alliance with them, and you in those past days were always uneasily watching for the time when you should hear that they were forcing Boeotia to be under their

- εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ  
Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ  
σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων  
ἂν δεησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς  
35 ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακε-  
δαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατεί-  
ληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι.  
ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων  
μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἓνα ἀφ' ἐκά-  
στης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγο-  
ρεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς  
ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
γεγεννημένος εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρη-  
μάτων μετελληφὼς εἴη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκείνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας  
36 αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα  
ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπρά-  
γμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν  
κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεον-  
τιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
ἔτι πλείω ὑπηρετοῦν ἢ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς.
- 37 Τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυνθον στρα-  
τιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν  
μὲν ἄρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν  
αὐτοῖ τε ἅπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς  
συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύ-  
οντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν

sway; but now that this stroke has been accomplished, there is no need of your fearing the Thebans; on the contrary, a brief message from you will suffice to secure from that quarter all the support that you may desire, provided only you show as much concern for us as we have shown for you." Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and to bring Ismenias to trial. Accordingly they sent out as judges three Lacedaemonians and one from each of the allied states, whether small or great. And it was not until the court held its sitting that charges were brought against Ismenias,—that he was a supporter of the barbarians, that he had become a guest-friend of the Persian satrap to the hurt of Greece, that he had received a share of the money which came from the King, and that he and Androcleidas were chiefly responsible for all the trouble and disorder in Greece. To all these charges he did indeed make a defence, but he failed to persuade the court that he was not a man of great and evil undertakings. So he was pronounced guilty and put to death; as for Leontiades and his party, they held possession of Thebes and gave the Lacedaemonians their support in even more than was demanded of them. 383 B.C.

After these things had been accomplished, the Lacedaemonians with much more spirit set about dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him their own full contingent of the total ten thousand men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias 382 B.C.

- συμμάχων. καὶ οἳ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τε-  
 λευτίᾳ ὑπηρετοῦν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει  
 εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ  
 πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ,  
 38 προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας. ὁ  
 δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος  
 δὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ  
 τοῦ ὥς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε  
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἡξίου αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους  
 μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι χρήματα  
 διδόναι, ὥς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιτο τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν  
 τὸν Ἑλιμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι  
 κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας  
 εἶεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις  
 39 αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν,  
 μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν  
 ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτεί-  
 δαιαν, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν  
 πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὐτ' ἔκαεν  
 οὐτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσῃε τούτων, ἐμ-  
 ποδῶν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι  
 καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροίη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,  
 τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδῶν  
 καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὀπισθεν ἐπίοι.
- 40 Ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα  
 στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς

in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And 332 B.C.  
 all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias,  
 —for he was regarded as a man not ungrateful to  
 those who performed any service,—while the Theban  
 state in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of  
 Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and  
 horsemen. Now he prosecuted his march with no  
 great speed, his concern being rather to make the  
 journey without doing any harm to the friends of his  
 state and to collect as large a force as possible. He  
 also sent word on ahead to Amyntas and asked him  
 not only to hire mercenaries, but likewise to give  
 money to the kings in his neighbourhood, that they  
 might become allies, if he really wanted to recover  
 his dominions. Furthermore, he sent to Derdas,  
 the ruler of Elimia, pointing out to him that the  
 Olynthians had already subdued the greater power,  
 Macedonia, and would not let the lesser escape  
 unless someone put a stop to their presumption.  
 As a result of his doing these things he had a  
 very large army when he arrived in the territory of  
 his state's allies. And when he had come to Potidaea,  
 he ~~proceeded~~ from there with his army in order  
 of battle into the enemy's country. Now on his way  
 toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor  
 cut down, believing that anything of this sort he  
 should do would prove so many obstacles in his way  
 both as he approached and as he withdrew; but  
 he believed that when he should retire from the  
 city it would be right to cut down the trees and put  
 them in the way of anyone who might come against  
 him from behind.

And when he was distant from the city not so  
 much as ten stadia, he halted the army, himself



- ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύ-  
 λας ἵεναι ἢ ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη  
 φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ  
 δεξιόν. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας  
 καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων  
 παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ  
 εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἱππέας ὥς εἰς  
 τετρακοσίους διὰ τε τὸ ἄγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱπ-  
 πικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὥς  
 41 ἠδόμενος παρείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόν-  
 τες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειρα-  
 θέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς  
 Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε  
 τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέ-  
 τρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέ-  
 πονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικόν. φευ-  
 γόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον  
 πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ' αὖ ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡττη-  
 θῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυν-  
 θίων ἤλασεν. ἐπῆει δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς  
 42 περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ᾗσθοντο οἱ  
 Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν  
 τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ  
 σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας  
 παμπόλλους<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν  
 δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν.  
 οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς  
 43 τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἐστάθη

<sup>1</sup> After παμπόλλους the MSS. have ἱππέας: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

occupying the left wing,—for in this way it fell to him to advance in the direction of the gate where the enemy issued forth,—while the rest of the phalanx, made up of the allies, stretched away to the right. As for the horsemen, he likewise posted upon the right wing the Laconians, the Thebans, and all the Macedonians who were present, while he kept by his own side Derdas and his horsemen, numbering about four hundred, not only because he admired this troop, but also to do honour to Derdas, so that he should be glad he had joined the expedition. But when the enemy came and formed in opposing line beneath the city wall, their horsemen, massing themselves together, charged upon the Laconians and Boeotians. And they not only struck down from his horse Polycharmus, the Lacedaemonian commander of cavalry, and inflicted very many wounds upon him as he lay, but they also killed others, and finally put to flight the cavalry upon the right wing. Now as the cavalry fled, the infantry next them also gave way, and the whole army, indeed, would have been in danger of being defeated had not Derdas with his troop dashed straight for the gates of the Olynthians. And Teleutias also advanced to the attack with his troops in battle order. When the Olynthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste. Then Derdas killed very many of them as they rode past him. And the foot-soldiers of the Olynthians also retired into the city; but not many of them were killed, because the wall was near. And when a trophy had been set up and

καὶ ἡ νίκη αὕτη τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπὶ ὧν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίννουν.

III. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὥς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὥς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομήν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε, τοὺς θ' ἱπποὺς ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξοπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων  
 2 ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὥς ἅπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτινύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχήρεις τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην  
 3 παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὥς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἴη ἢ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἡσυχιοὶ πορευόμενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα

this victory had fallen to Teleutias, then as he withdrew he proceeded to cut down the trees. Now after continuing the campaign through this summer he dismissed both the Macedonian army and the horsemen of Derdas; the Olynthians, however, on their side made frequent raids into the territory of the cities allied with the Lacedaemonians, and carried off booty and killed men. 392 B.C.

III. At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian horsemen, about six hundred in number, had made a raid into the district of Apollonia at midday and were scattered about pillaging; and it chanced that on that day Derdas had arrived with his horsemen and was breakfasting at Apollonia. When he saw the raid, he kept quiet, keeping his horses saddled and bridled and their riders fully armed. But when the Olynthians came riding disdainfully not only into the suburbs, but to the very gates of the city, then he dashed forth with his men in good order. And upon seeing him the enemy took to flight. But he, when once he had turned them to flight, did not stop pursuing and killing for ninety stadia, until he had chased them to the very wall of the Olynthians. It was said, indeed, that Derdas killed in this action about eighty horsemen. And from this day forth the enemy stayed more closely within their wall and cultivated only an exceedingly small portion of their land. As time went on, however, and Teleutias had led his army up to the city of the Olynthians in order to destroy whatever tree was left or whatever field had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian horsemen issued forth and, proceeding quietly, crossed the river which flows 391 B.C.

- ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στρα-  
τευμα. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ  
τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελτα-  
στῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέ-  
4 λευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὥς εἶδον προθέοντας  
τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν  
ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ  
δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως καὶ ὥς φεύγουσι  
διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι  
ἰππεῖς, ἡνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι  
οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν  
αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδα  
5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας  
ὥς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ  
ὄπλα ἤγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ  
τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ μὴ  
ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ  
ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρη-  
σαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλ-  
λοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἠναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως  
6 καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ  
Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἰππέας, ἐβοή-  
θουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται  
ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι προσπί-  
πτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος  
ἀποθνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ  
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἴστατο,  
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλῳ, οἱ  
δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθῳ, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖ-

<sup>1</sup> After ἐπορεύοντο the MSS. have ἡσυχῇ: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.



by the city and held on their way towards the 381 B.C.  
opposing army. And when Teleutias saw them, being irritated at their audacity, he immediately ordered Tlemonidas, the leader of the peltasts, to charge against them on the run. Now when the Olynthians saw the peltasts sallying forth, they turned about, retired quietly, and crossed the river again. The peltasts, on the other hand, followed very rashly and, with the thought that the enemy were in flight, pushed into the river after them to pursue them. Thereupon the Olynthian horsemen, at the moment when they thought that those who had crossed the river were still easy to handle, turned about and dashed upon them, and they not only killed Tlemonidas himself, but more than one hundred of the others. But Teleutias, filled with anger when he saw what was going on, snatched up his arms and led the hoplites swiftly forward, while he ordered the peltasts and the horsemen to pursue and not stop pursuing. Now in many other instances those who have pressed a pursuit too close to a city's wall have come off badly in their retreat, and in this case also, when the men were showered with missiles from the towers, they were forced to retire in disorder and to guard themselves against the missiles. At this moment the Olynthians sent out their horsemen to the attack, and the peltasts also came to their support; finally, their hoplites likewise rushed out, and fell upon the Lacedaemonian phalanx when it was already in confusion. There Teleutias fell fighting. And when this happened, the troops about him at once gave way, and in fact no one stood his ground any longer, but all fled, some for Spartolus, others for Acanthus, others to Apollonia, and the



στοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὥς δ' ἄλλος ἄλλη  
ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσε  
διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ  
ὁ τιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγὼ φημι  
ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὥς οὐδ'  
οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ  
δεσπότης ὀργιζόμενος μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποί-  
ησαν· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλοις τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ  
γνώμη προσφέρεσθαι ὅλον ἀμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν  
γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπρονόητον, ἡ δὲ γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν  
ἥττον μὴ τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως βλίψῃ τι τοὺς πολε-  
μίους.

8 Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ  
πρᾶγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμ-  
πτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τό τε φρόνημα τῶν  
νενικηκότων κατασβεσθεῖη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ  
πεπονημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα  
μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ'  
αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριά-

9 κοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν  
περιοίκων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοι ἠκολούθουν,  
καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι  
τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ  
καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθελονταί, καὶ  
Θετταλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι  
βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προ-

majority to Potidaea. As they fled in all directions, 381 B.C. so likewise the enemy pursued in all directions, and killed a vast number of men, including the most serviceable part of the army.

From such disasters, however, I hold that men are taught the lesson, chiefly, indeed, that they ought not to chastise anyone, even slaves, in anger—for masters in anger have often suffered greater harm than they have inflicted; but especially that, in dealing with enemies, to attack under the influence of anger and not with judgment is an absolute mistake. For anger is a thing which does not look ahead, while judgment aims no less to escape harm than to inflict it upon the enemy.

When the Lacedaemonians heard of this affair, it seemed to them as they deliberated that they must send out no small force, in order that the pride of the victors might be quenched and that the efforts already made might not go for nothing. Having come to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king, as commander, and with him, as they had sent with Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiatae. There followed with him also many of the Perioeci as volunteers, men of the better class, and aliens who belonged to the so-called foster-children<sup>1</sup> of Sparta, and sons of the Spartiatae by Helot women, exceedingly fine-looking men, not without experience of the good gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to Agesipolis, while Amyntas and Derdas took part

<sup>1</sup> i.e. were brought up at Sparta and went through the usual course of Spartan discipline. Xenophon's own sons belonged to this class.

θυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον.

- 10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ἔδοσαν, νομίζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμᾳ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποιοῦν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἡξίουں τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων, καὶ τίς αὕτη δίκη εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν
- 11 εἰσήκουον. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῖεν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐξημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
- 12 οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἵκαδε μὲν ὥκνουν ἀπιέναι, μένοντες δ' ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὗτοι μὲν εἴησαν, οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ πριάμενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιωθῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας,

<sup>1</sup> cp. ii. 10.

with even greater eagerness than before. Under these circumstances it was that Agesipolis marched against Olynthus. 331 B.C.

Meanwhile the people of Phlius, partly because they had been commended by Agesipolis for giving him a large sum of money for his campaign and giving it speedily, partly because they thought that with Agesipolis abroad Agesilaus would not take the field against them, and that it never would happen that both the kings would be outside of Sparta at the same time, boldly refused to grant any of their rights to the restored exiles.<sup>1</sup> For while the exiles demanded that the questions in dispute should be brought to trial before an impartial court, their policy was to compel them to plead their cases in the city itself. And when the exiles asked what manner of trial that was, where the wrong-doers were themselves the judges, they refused to listen to them at all. Consequently these restored exiles came to Lacedaemon to present their charge against the state, and other people from home came with them, saying that many even among the citizens thought that the exiles were not receiving just treatment. But the state of Phlius, angered at this, fined all who had gone to Lacedaemon without being sent by the state. And those who were thus fined were afraid to return home, but remained and protested to the Lacedaemonians, saying: "These men, who are engaged in these high-handed proceedings, are the men who have banished us and have also excluded you from their city, these are the men who are buying our property and resorting to high-handed measures so as not to give it back, and now these same men have contrived to have a fine inflicted upon us for

- ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμῶη ἰέναι δηλώσω  
 13 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα. τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν  
 δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθο-  
 μένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχι-  
 δάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον, καὶ τότε τῶν  
 κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν· αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα  
 14 τὸν Ἰππονίκου. ὥς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομέ-  
 νων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο, πολλαὶ πρε-  
 σβεῖαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ  
 ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἵνα ἀδικοίη  
 στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθή-  
 15 σειεν. οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσειν,  
 ἐδέοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς  
 οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον  
 ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν  
 εἶφθαι. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν  
 ἀπεκρίνατο· "Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, εἶφθαι, ποιήσαντες  
 οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡδικήθητε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὴν  
 16 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ  
 περιτειχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λε-  
 γόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλέον πεντακισχιλίων  
 ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔνδηλον εἴη, οἱ  
 Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερώ τοῖς ἔξω ἐκκλησιάζον·

<sup>1</sup> cp. IV. iv. 15.

coming here, so that in the future no one shall dare 381 B.C.  
to come for the purpose of revealing what is going on in the state." And since it seemed that the Phliasians were really acting insolently, the ephors called out the ban against them. Now this was not displeasing to Agesilaus; for the followers of Podanemus had been friends of his father Archidamus and were at this time among the restored exiles; while the partisans of Procles, the son of Hipponicus, were friends of his own. And when, after the sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, he made no delay but proceeded on the march, many embassies met him and offered him money not to invade the country of Phlius. He replied, however, that he was not taking the field to do wrong, but to aid those who were suffering wrong. Finally they said that they would do anything whatsoever, and begged him not to invade. He answered again that he could not trust to words, for they had proved false to their word in the previous case, but he said there was need of some deed that one could trust. And when he was asked what manner of deed this would be, he replied again: "The same thing," said he, "that you did before,<sup>1</sup> and in doing which you suffered no wrong whatever at our hands." By this he meant giving over their Acropolis. As they refused to do this, he invaded their land and quickly built a wall of circumvallation around the city and besieged them. And when many Lacedaemonians said that merely for the sake of a few individuals they were making themselves hated by a state of more than five thousand men—for the Phliasians held their assemblies in plain sight of the people outside the city just for the purpose of making the fact of their numbers



- ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμνηχανήσατο.
- 17 ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ξυσσίτιά τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν διδόναι, ὅποσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὄπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἅπασι τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.
- 18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιῶν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆει αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδείξου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῆτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ
- 19 προσβαλὼν εἶλε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καῦμα περιφλεγὲς λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρωσ αὐτὸν τότε ἔσχε τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκείσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι ἐβδομαῖος ἅφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.
- 20 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἢ τις ἀνῴετο ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε

evident—Agesilaus devised a scheme to meet this 381 B.C.  
 situation. Whenever any Phliasians came out of the city either from friendship or kinship with the exiles, he instructed the latter to form common messes of their own with such of the new-comers as were ready to undertake the army training, and to supply money enough for provisions; he also urged them to provide arms for all these people and not to hesitate to borrow money for this purpose. The exiles accordingly carried out his injunctions, and showed as a result more than a thousand men in splendid condition of body, well disciplined, and extremely well armed; so that the Lacedaemonians finally said that they had need of such fellow-soldiers.

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. 380 B.C.  
 As for Agesipolis, he advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olynthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olynthian country was left unravaged, and proceeding into the territory of their allied cities, destroyed the corn; but Torone he attacked and captured by storm. While he was engaged in these operations, at mid-summer a burning fever seized him. And since he had previously seen the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clear, cool waters. He was therefore carried thither, still living, but, nevertheless, on the seventh day from the time when he fell sick, he came to his end outside the sanctuary. And he was placed in honey and carried home, and received the royal burial.

When Agesilaus heard of this, he did not, as one might have expected, rejoice over it, as over the

καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν· συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι ὦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἵππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπηδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτὸν ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἀρμοστήν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον ἐκπέμπουσιν.

- 21 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσου ἐλέγετο ἐν Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς ἀκρατείας<sup>1</sup> διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἡμισυν ψηφισάμενοι σῖτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι
- 22 διήρκεσαν. καὶ τόλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἡπίσται εἵρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἰς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ'
- 23 ἄλλη τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ ἡὔρισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπεύσα-

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Kel., following Nauck.

death of an adversary, but he wept, and mourned 880 B.C.  
 the loss of his companionship; for the kings of  
 course lodge together when they are at home. And  
 Agesipolis was a man well fitted to converse with  
 Agesilaus about youthful days, hunting exploits,  
 horses, and love affairs; besides this he also treated  
 Agesilaus with deference in their association to-  
 gether in their common quarters, as one would  
 naturally treat an elder. In the place, then, of  
 Agesipolis the Lacedaemonians sent out Polybiades  
 to Olynthus as governor.

Now Agesilaus had already gone beyond the time 379 B.C.  
 for which the food-supply in Phlius was said to  
 suffice; for self-restraint in appetite differs so much  
 from unrestrained indulgence that the Phliasians, by  
 voting to consume half as much food as before and  
 carrying out this decision, held out under siege for  
 twice as long a time as was to have been expected.  
 Furthermore, courage sometimes differs so much from  
 cowardice that a certain Delphion, who was regarded  
 as a brilliant man, taking to himself three hundred of  
 the Phliasians, was able to hold in check those who  
 desired to make peace, was able to shut up and keep  
 under guard those whom he distrusted, and had the  
 power to compel the masses of the people to go to  
 their posts and by putting sentinels over them to  
 keep these people faithful. Frequently also he  
 would sally forth with the three hundred picked  
 men and beat off the troops on guard at one  
 point and another of the wall of circumvallation.  
 When, however, these picked men with search-  
 ing in every way could not find food in the city,  
 thereupon they sent to Agesilaus and asked him to  
 give them safe conduct for going on an embassy to

- σθαι πρεσβείαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰοῦσι· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὃ τι βού-  
 24 λονται. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπεί-  
 σατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρα ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίῃ. ὅμως μέντοι ὃ γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.  
 25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατε-  
 ληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρίναι ὄντινά τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὄντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἶη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσονται· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρου-  
 ροῖς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὐ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὁκτῶ μηνσὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.  
 26 Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μῆτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σῖτον αὐτοῖς, ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκρά-

Lacedaemon; for they said that they had resolved to leave it to the authorities of the Lacedaemonians to do whatever they would with the city. Agesilaus, however, angered because they treated him as one without authority, sent to his friends at home and arranged that the decision about Phlius should be left to him, but nevertheless he gave safe conduct to the embassy. Then he kept guard with a force even stronger than before, in order that no one of the people in the city might escape. In spite of this, however, Delphion, and with him a branded desperado who had many times stolen away weapons from the besiegers, escaped by night. But when messengers arrived from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way—that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. After doing all this he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months.

At this time also Polybiades compelled the Olynthians, who were in an exceedingly wretched state from famine, inasmuch as they got no food from their own land and none was brought in to them by sea, to send to Lacedaemon to treat for peace; and those who went thither, being ambassadors with full



τορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.

- 27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τεταπεινώσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν,<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡρημῶσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ συμμαχῶν κεκολασμένων οἱ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

IV. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὥς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον<sup>2</sup> οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπτά

<sup>1</sup> διὰ . . . ὑποφοράν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

<sup>2</sup> πρότερον Wolf: πρῶτον Kel. with MSS.

powers, concluded a compact to count the same 379 B.C.  
people enemies and friends as the Lacedaemonians did, to follow wherever they led the way, and to be their allies. Then after taking an oath that they would abide by this compact, they went back home.

And now that success had to such an extent attended the efforts of the Lacedaemonians that the Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians were completely in their power, the Corinthians had become absolutely faithful, the Argives had been humbled for the reason that their plea of the sacred months was no longer of any help to them, and the Athenians were left destitute of allies, while on the other hand those among the allies of the Lacedaemonians who had been unfriendly to them had been chastised, it seemed that they had at length established their empire most excellently and securely.

IV. Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely, who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were

μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν καταλῦσαι. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγῆσομαι.

- 2 Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τὰλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὥς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφικμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὢν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνούς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δούς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο
- 3 ὥς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἐξ τούτους ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκα περ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ
- 4 ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὥς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα

<sup>1</sup> See note on ii. 25. It seems likely that the polemarchs were three in number, although Archias and Philippus

enough to destroy the government of these men. 379 B.C.  
How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate.

There was a certain Phillidas, who acted as secretary to Archias and his fellow polemarchs<sup>1</sup> and in other ways served them, as it seemed, most excellently. Now this man went to Athens on a matter of business, and there met Melon, one of the Thebans in exile at Athens and a man who had been an acquaintance of his even before this time. Melon, after learning of the doings of the polemarch Archias and the tyrannous rule of Philippos, and finding out that Phillidas hated the conditions that existed at home even more than he himself did, exchanged pledges with him and came to an agreement as to how everything should be managed. After this Melon took with him six of the fittest men among the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, and in the first place proceeded by night into the territory of Thebes; then after spending the day in a deserted spot they came to the city gates, as if on their way back from the country, at just the time when the last returning labourers came in. When they had entered the city, they spent that night at the house of a certain Charon, and likewise spent the following day there. As for Phillidas, since the polemarchs always celebrate a festival of Aphrodite upon the expiration of their term of office, he was making all the arrangements for them, and in particular, having long ago promised to bring them women, and the most stately and beautiful women there were in Thebes, he said he would do so at that time. And they—for they were that sort of men—

(see below) are the only ones whom Xenophon mentions by name.

5 ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-  
 πνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ  
 ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι κελεύοντων ἄγειν τὰς ἐταί-  
 ρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν  
 6 στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θερα-  
 παίνας. καὶ κείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προτα-  
 μεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε  
 τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ  
 γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν  
 οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλ-  
 λίδας δούς οἶνον εἰς ἐνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν  
 αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δῆ,  
 καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἐκάστω. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ  
 7 καθίζουσιν, παίειν εὐθύς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ  
 μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ  
 καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα  
 ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλ-  
 λίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεον-  
 τιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι  
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιο.  
 ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ  
 δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο.  
 ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσι-  
 ἐναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες,<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξ-  
 ιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεισθαι· εἰ δὲ λή-  
 ψονται ἀνεωγμένην, ἡπείλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἅπαν-  
 8 τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο,

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκτείναντες MSS.: ἀπέκτειναν Kel.

expected to spend the night very pleasantly. Now 379 B.C.  
when they had dined and with his zealous help had quickly become drunk, after they had long urged him to bring in their mistresses he went out and brought Melon and his followers, having dressed up three of them as matrons and the others as their attendants. He conducted them all to the anteroom adjoining the treasury of the polemarchs' building, and then came in himself and told Archias and his colleagues that the women said they would not enter if any of the servants were in the room. At that the polemarchs speedily ordered them all to withdraw, while Phillidas gave them wine and sent them off to the house of one of their number. Then he led in the supposed courtesans and seated them one beside each man. And the agreement was, that when they were seated, they should unveil themselves and strike at once. It was in this way, then, as some tell the story, that the polemarchs were killed, while others say that Melon and his followers came in as though they were revellers and killed them. After this Phillidas took three of his men and proceeded to the house of Leontiades and knocking at the door he said that he wished to give him a message from the polemarchs. Now it chanced that Leontiades had dined by himself and was still reclining on his couch after dinner, while his wife sat beside him, working with wool. And believing Phillidas trustworthy he bade him come in. When the party had entered, they killed Leontiades and frightened his wife into silence. And as they went out, they ordered that the door should remain shut; and they threatened that if they found it open, they would kill all who were in the house. When these things had been



- λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν<sup>1</sup> πολεμάρχων ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὥς δὲ ἀνέφξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὄπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ
- 9 ὄπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὥς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ δὲ πολῖται, ἕως μὲν νύξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερόν ἦν τὸ γεγεννημένον, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίωι δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὃ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουν.<sup>2</sup>
- 10 Ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστής ἐπεὶ ᾗσθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιάς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη παρῆσαν,
- 11 προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τήν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-

<sup>1</sup> Inserted by Kel., following Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Inserted by Kel. The text of the last four lines of this section is probably corrupt.

done, Phillidas took two of the men and went to the prison, and told the keeper of the prison that he was bringing a man from the polemarchs who was to be shut up. And as soon as the keeper opened the door, they immediately killed him and released the prisoners. Then they speedily armed these men with weapons which they took down from the portico, and, leading them to the Ampheum,<sup>1</sup> ordered them to stand under arms. After this they immediately made proclamation to all the Thebans, both horsemen and hoplites, to come forth from their houses, saying that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, however, so long as night lasted, remained quiet out of distrust; but when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then both the hoplites and the horsemen speedily rushed forth with their arms to lend aid. The returned exiles also sent horsemen to fetch the troops of the Athenians who were on the borders under two of the generals. And the latter, knowing the purpose for which they had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid.

Now when the Lacedaemonian governor in the Acropolis heard the proclamation of the night, he at once sent to Plataea and Thespieae for help. And the Theban horsemen, upon perceiving that the Plataeans were approaching, went out to meet them and killed more than twenty of them; then as soon as they had re-entered the city after this achievement, and the Athenians from the borders had arrived, they made an attack upon the Acropolis. Now when those in the Acropolis realized that they were few in number, and saw the spirit of all who were coming against

<sup>1</sup> The shrine of the Theban hero Amphion.

- γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνα-  
 βᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν  
 ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπιούσι  
 διδοίεν. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤτουν, καὶ  
 σπείσάμενοι καὶ ὅρκους ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 12 ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν  
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν.  
 ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώ-  
 θησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν  
 ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 τὸν μὲν ἀρμοστήν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρό-  
 πολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέ-  
 κτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους.  
 καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταρά-  
 κοντα ἀφ' ἧβης εἴη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς  
 τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἴη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἕξω  
 στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν  
 νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. καὶ κεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων  
 ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ'  
 ἔνεκεν κατέμεινε, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατη-  
 γοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὥς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως  
 βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει  
 παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν τι  
 14 βούλονται περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι  
 ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτω-  
 κότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε

them,—for there were also offers of large prizes to those who should first ascend the Acropolis—being frightened in consequence of these things, they said that they would withdraw if the Thebans would allow them to do so in safety, keeping their arms. And the Thebans gladly granted what they asked, and after making a truce and giving their oaths let them go forth on these terms. As they were on their way out, however, the citizens seized and killed all whom they recognized as belonging to the number of their political foes. There were some, indeed, who were spirited away and saved by the Athenians who had come from the borders with their supporting force. But the Thebans even seized the children of those who had been killed, whenever they had children, and slaughtered them.

When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they put to death the governor who had abandoned the Acropolis instead of waiting for the relief force, and called out the ban against the Thebans. Now Agesilaus said that it was more than forty years since he had come of military age, and pointed out that just as other men of his age were no longer bound to serve outside their own country, so the same law applied to kings also. He, then, on this plea would not undertake the campaign. It was not, however, for this reason that he stayed at home, but because he well knew that if he was in command the citizens would say that Agesilaus was making trouble for the state in order that he might give assistance to tyrants. Therefore he let them decide as they would about this matter. But the ephors, hearing the stories of those who had been banished after the slaughter in Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus,<sup>1</sup>—this being the first time that

<sup>1</sup> Successor of Agesipolis.

- ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι'  
 Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελ-  
 ταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ  
 οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ  
 φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὥς  
 περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους  
 μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ  
 ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλα-  
 15 ταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς  
 ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς  
 οὔσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ  
 ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς  
 Θεσπιάς· καὶ μὲν ἀρμολογίαν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν  
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων·  
 παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν  
 οἰκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦ-  
 16 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ  
 Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος  
 τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀπο-  
 ροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ  
 εἰρήνη εἴη· ἥγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων  
 τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα  
 17 κακουργήσας. ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαί-  
 σιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν  
 πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα  
 βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἅτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ  
 μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθήκον

he had a command,—in the dead of winter. Now 379 B.C.  
 the road which leads through Eleutherae was guarded by Chabrias with peltasts of the Athenians; but Cleombrotus climbed the mountain<sup>1</sup> by the road leading to Plataea. And at the summit of the pass his peltasts, who were leading the advance, found the men who had been released from the prison, about one hundred and fifty in number, on guard. And the peltasts killed them all, except for one or another who may have escaped; whereupon Cleombrotus descended to Plataea, which was still friendly. Then after he had arrived at Thespieae, he went on from there to Cynoscephalae, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped. But after remaining there about sixteen days he retired again to Thespieae. There he left Sphodrias as governor and a third part of each contingent of the allies; he also gave over to Sphodrias all the money which he chanced to have brought from home and directed him to hire a force of mercenaries besides. Sphodrias, then, set about doing this. Meanwhile Cleombrotus proceeded to conduct the soldiers under his command back homeward by the road which leads through Creusis, the troops being vastly puzzled to know whether there was really war between them and the Thebans, or peace; for he had led his army into the country of the Thebans and then departed after doing just as little damage as he could. While he was on the homeward way, however, an extraordinary wind beset him, which some indeed augured was a sign foreshadowing what was going to happen.<sup>2</sup> For it not only did many other violent things, but when he had left Creusis with his army and was crossing the

<sup>1</sup> Mt. Cithaeron.<sup>2</sup> *cp.* vi. iv. 2-15.



- ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατε-  
κρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὄπλα  
18 ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος  
δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύ-  
εσθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων  
ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν  
τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγιοσθένεσι ἐδείπνησαν ὥς  
ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο  
τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἤδη ἕκαστοι  
ἀπῆσαν. ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.
- 19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακε-  
δαιμονίων ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ  
οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως  
ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὸ δύο στρατηγῶ, οἱ συνη-  
πιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ  
Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέ-  
κτείναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.
- 20 Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ  
μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαι-  
μονίοις, τοιόνδε εὐρίσκουσι μηχανήμα. πείθουσι  
τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστήν Σφοδρίαν, χρή-  
ματα δόντες, ὥς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν  
Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς  
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ κεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐ-  
τοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψε-  
σθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν  
πρῶ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ

mountain ridge which runs down to the sea, it 379 B.C. hurled down the precipice great numbers of pack-asses, baggage and all, while very many shields were snatched away from the soldiers and fell into the sea. Finally many of the men, unable to proceed with all their arms, left their shields behind here and there on the summit of the ridge, putting them down on their backs and filling them with stones. On that day, then, they took dinner as best they could at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara; and on the following day they went back and recovered their shields. After this all returned at once to their several homes; for Cleombrotus dismissed them.

Now the Athenians, seeing the power of the Lacedaemonians and that the war was no longer in Corinthian territory, but that the Lacedaemonians were now going past Attica and invading the country of Thebes, were so fearful that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the uprising of Melon against Leontiades and his party, put one of them to death, and, since the other did not remain to stand trial, exiled him.

The Thebans, for their part, being also fearful in 378 B.C. — case no others except themselves should make war upon the Lacedaemonians, devised the following expedient. They persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at Thespieae,—by giving him money, it was suspected,—to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians. And he in obedience to their persuasions, professing that he would capture Piraeus, inasmuch as it still had no gates,<sup>1</sup> led forth his troops from Thespieae after they had taken an early dinner, saying

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* IV. viii. 9, 10.

- 21 ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Θριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστν ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπλου προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.
- 22 τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλιᾷ τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὡκυλλος· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὥς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὥς εἰ ἥδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ' ἂν
- 23 ἠυρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὥς εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κακῆνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι
- 24 ἀφείθησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὐχ

that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before 878 B.C. daybreak. But he was still at Thria when daylight came upon him, and then he made no effort to escape observation, but on the contrary, when he had turned about, seized cattle and plundered houses. Meanwhile some of those who fell in with him during the night fled to the city and reported to the Athenians that a very large army was coming against them. So they speedily armed themselves, both horsemen and hoplites, and kept guard over the city. Now it chanced also that there were ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians in Athens at the house of Callias, their diplomatic agent,—Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocyllus; and when the matter of the invasion was reported, the Athenians seized these men and kept them under guard, in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot. But they were utterly dismayed over the affair and said in their defence that if they had known that an attempt was being made to seize Piraeus, they would never have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and, still less, at the house of their diplomatic agent, where they would most speedily be found. They said, further, that it would become clear to the Athenians also that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt, either. For as to Sphodrias, they said they well knew that they would hear that he had been put to death by the state. They accordingly were adjudged to be without any knowledge of the affair and were released. But the ephors recalled Sphodrias and brought capital charges against him. He, however, out of fear did not obey the summons; but nevertheless, although he did not obey and

ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἢ δίκη κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.

- 25 Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ἡλικίαν τε ἔχων τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἄμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἅτε ἐταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δέ γε Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιη-
- 26 κέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ υἱ', σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεηθέντι Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενῇ Ἀγησίλαον ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο
- 27 σωτήρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἄν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι· ὅμως δ' ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν με προ-
- 28 θυμίαν ἔξειν ταῦτά σοιπραχθῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἐξελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐξίοντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν

present himself for the trial, he was acquitted. And 878 B.C. it seemed to many that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon. The reason for it was as follows.

Sphodrias had a son Cleonymus, who was at the age just following boyhood and was, besides, the handsomest and most highly regarded of all the youths of his years. And Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, chanced to be extremely fond of him. Now the friends of Cleombrotus were political associates of Sphodrias, and were therefore inclined to acquit him, but they feared Agesilaus and his friends, and likewise those who stood between the two parties; for it seemed that he had done a dreadful deed. Therefore Sphodrias said to Cleonymus: "It is within your power, my son, to save your father by begging Archidamus to make Agesilaus favourable to me at my trial." Upon hearing this Cleonymus gathered courage to go to Archidamus and begged him for his sake to become the saviour of his father. Now when Archidamus saw Cleonymus weeping, he wept with him as he stood by his side; and when he heard his request, he replied: "Cleonymus, be assured that I cannot even look my father in the face, but if I wish to accomplish some object in the state, I petition everyone else rather than my father; yet nevertheless, since you so bid me, believe that I will use every effort to accomplish this for you." At that time, accordingly, he went from the public mess-room to his home and retired to rest; then he arose at dawn and kept watch, so that his father should not leave the house without his notice. But when he saw him going out, in the first place, if anyone among the citizens was present, he gave way to allow them to



παρῆν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχάρι. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπιὼν ὥχετο οὐδὲ προσελθών. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ  
 29 δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτὰ ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὦν ἔνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἠρώτα, ἀλλ' εἶα αὐτόν. ὁ δ' αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὅπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὀρώντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοι-  
 30 δορημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου εἶη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμός με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι σώσαιί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἂν συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγιγνώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς  
 31 πόλεως οὐχ ὀρῶ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶπεν ἐλθών· Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡδίκηαι Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν οἶδα· νῦν δέ,

<sup>1</sup> The general gathering place of the Spartans was on the banks of the Eurotas.

converse with Agesilaus, and again, if it was a stranger, he did the same, and again he even made way for any one of his attendants who wished to address him. Finally, when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas<sup>1</sup> and entered his house, Archidamus went away without even having approached him. On the next day also he acted in the very same way. And Agesilaus, while he suspected for what reason he kept going to and fro with him, nevertheless asked no question, but let him alone. But Archidamus, on the other hand, was eager, naturally enough, to see Cleonymus; still, he did not know how he could go to him without first having talked with his father about the request that Cleonymus had made. And the partisans of Sphodrias, since they did not see Archidamus coming to visit Cleonymus, whereas formerly he had come often, were in the utmost anxiety, fearing that he had been rebuked by Agesilaus. Finally, however, Archidamus gathered courage to approach Agesilaus and say: "Father, Cleonymus bids me request you to save his father; and I make the same request of you, if it is possible." And Agesilaus answered: "For yourself, I grant you pardon; but how I could obtain my own pardon from the state if I failed to pronounce guilty of wrong-doing a man who made traffic for himself to the hurt of the state, I do not see." Now at the time Archidamus said nothing in reply to these words, but yielding to the justice of them, went away. Afterwards, however, whether because he had conceived the idea himself or because it had been suggested to him by some one else, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Father, I know that if Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would have acquitted him; but as it is,

- εἰ ἡδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλὰ  
 ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'  
 32 ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὦν ἀπήγει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ  
 Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ  
 εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγη-  
 σιλάου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ  
 Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταῦτ', ἔφη, ποιή-  
 σομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας  
 ὅσοις διείλεκται ταῦτὰ λέγει, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφο-  
 δρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μέντοι παῖς τε ὦν καὶ  
 παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέ-  
 λεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτινύναι.  
 τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.  
 33 ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ.  
 ὁ δ' ἡσθεὶς, εὐθύς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον  
 εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῇ ἤδη ἴσμεν· εὐ δ'  
 ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίας  
 αἰσχυνηθῇς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν  
 ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν  
 Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν  
 Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρεῖς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν  
 πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ  
 ἡνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον,  
 ὥς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον  
 ἐκόσμησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας  
 ἀπέφυγε.

if he has done something wrong, let him for our sakes 378 B.C. obtain pardon at your hands." And Agesilaus said: "Well, if this should be honourable for us, it shall be so." Upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency. Now one of the friends of Sphodrias in conversation with Etymocles, said to him: "I suppose," said he, "that you, the friends of Agesilaus, are all for putting Sphodrias to death." And Etymocles replied: "By Zeus, then we shall not be following the same course as Agesilaus, for he says to all with whom he has conversed the same thing,—that it is impossible that Sphodrias is not guilty of wrong-doing; but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers." The man, then, upon hearing this, reported it to Cleonymus. And he, filled with joy, went at once to Archidamus and said: "We know now that you have a care for us; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we in our turn shall strive to take care that you may never have cause to be ashamed on account of our friendship." And he did not prove false to his words, for not only did he act in all ways as it is deemed honourable for a citizen of Sparta to act while he lived, but at Leuctra,<sup>1</sup> fighting in defence of his king with Deinon the polemarch, he fell three times and was the first of the citizens to lose his life in the midst of the enemy. And while his death caused extreme grief to Archidamus, still, as he promised, he did not bring shame upon him, but rather honour. It was in this way, then, that Sphodrias was acquitted.

<sup>1</sup> Seven years later; *cp.* VI. iv. 14.

- 34 Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ
- 35 προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι τῇ πόλει δοκοίῃ ἀντειπεῖν<sup>1</sup> παρεσκευάζετο εἰς
- 36 τὴν ἔξοδον. γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο<sup>2</sup>
- 37 τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέᾳ αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίοις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δούς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶτον ἵεναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
- 38 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν

<sup>1</sup> ἀντειπεῖν MSS.: Kel. prefixes ἔχοι.

<sup>2</sup> γένοιτο MSS.: προσγένοιτο Kel.

As for the Athenians, those among them who 378 B.C. favoured the Boeotians pointed out to the people that the Lacedaemonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but even commended him, for plotting against Athens. Therefore the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates, set about building ships, and gave aid to the Boeotians with all zeal. The Lacedaemonians on their side called out the ban against the Thebans, and believing that Agesilaus would lead them with more judgment than Cleombrotus, requested him to act as commander of the army. And he, saying that he would offer no objection to whatever the state thought best, made his preparations for the campaign. Now he knew that unless one first gained possession of Mount Cithaeron, it would not be easy to effect an entrance into the country of Thebes; he therefore, upon learning that the Cletorians were at war with the Orchomenians and were maintaining a force of mercenaries, came to an agreement with them that their mercenary force should be turned over to him if he had any need of it. And when his sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, before he had himself reached Tegea he sent to the commander of the mercenaries at Cletor, gave them pay for a month, and ordered them to occupy Cithaeron in advance. Meanwhile he directed the Orchomenians to cease from war so long as his campaign lasted; indeed, if any state undertook an expedition against any other while his army was in the field, he said that his first act would be to go against that state, in accordance with the resolution of the allies.

After Agesilaus had crossed Cithaeron and had



εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκείθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν  
 Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον  
 τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδῖον καὶ  
 τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπέδευό-  
 μενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων  
 ἐδήου τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρω-  
 μάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου  
 ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρῆσαν αὐτῷ  
 39 ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι. καί  
 ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἵππεῖς τέως ἀφα-  
 νεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὠδοποιημένων τοῦ  
 χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ  
 ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν  
 πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι κατα-  
 βεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι·  
 καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ  
 τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας,  
 καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἕνα, Εὐδικον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων  
 τινὰς φυγάδας, οὐπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 40 ἵππους. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις  
 ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλανον  
 ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἐκ  
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν  
 Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐώκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν  
 μεσημβρίᾳ· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν  
 ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὐ.  
 ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν

arrived at Thespieae, he made that his base of operations and proceeded against the country of the Thebans. When he found, however, that the plain and the most valuable portions of their territory had been surrounded by a protecting trench and stockade, he encamped now here and now there, and, leading forth his army after breakfast, laid waste those parts of the country which were on his side of the stockade and trench. For wherever Agesilaus appeared, the enemy moved along within the stockade and kept in his front, for the purpose of offering resistance. And once, when he was already withdrawing in the direction of his camp, the cavalry of the Thebans, up to that moment invisible, suddenly dashed out through the exits which had been made in the stockade, and inasmuch as the peltasts of Agesilaus were going away to dinner or were making their preparations for doing so, while the horsemen were some of them still dismounted and others in the act of mounting, the Thebans charged upon them; and they not only struck down a large number of the peltasts, but among the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas, who were Spartiatae, one of the Perioeci, Eudicus, and some Theban exiles, such as had not yet mounted their horses. But when Agesilaus turned about and came to the rescue with the hoplites, his horsemen charged against the enemy's horsemen and the first ten year-classes of the hoplites ran along with them to the attack. The Theban horsemen, however, acted like men who had drunk a little at midday; for although they awaited the oncoming enemy in order to throw their spears, they threw before they were within range. Still, though they turned about at so great a distance, twelve of them were killed. But

- 41 δώδεκα. ὥς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι αἰέ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγεν ὥς οἶόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρήλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαυ κατέλιπεν ἄρμοσθῆν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαυα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.
- 42 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν ληστήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύουσι πανδημεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἶα αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολῆς θάττονα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεοκόμοι δὲ ἀπορριπτοῦντες ὃν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαντον οἴκαδε. οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέ-
- 43 πεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν
- 44 ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπη ἀδιαβάτῳ ἐγίγνωντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἡθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ

when Agesilaus had noted that it was always after 378 B.C.  
breakfast that the enemy also appeared, he offered  
sacrifice at daybreak, led his army forward as rapidly  
as possible, and passed within the stockade at an  
unguarded point. Then he devastated and burned  
the region within the enclosure up to the walls of  
the city. After doing this and withdrawing again to  
Thespieae, he fortified their city for the Thespians.  
There he left Phoebidas as governor, while he him-  
self crossed the mountain again to Megara, disbanded  
the allies, and led his citizen troops back home.

After this Phoebidas plundered the Thebans by  
sending out bands of freebooters, while by making  
raids he devastated their land. The Thebans, on  
their side, desiring to avenge themselves, made an  
expedition with their entire force against the country  
of the Thespians. But when they were within the  
territory of Thespieae, Phoebidas pressed them close  
with his peltasts and did not allow them to stray at  
any point from their phalanx; so that the Thebans  
in great vexation proceeded to retreat more rapidly  
than they had advanced, and their mule-drivers also  
threw away the produce which they had seized and  
pushed for home; so dreadful a panic had fallen upon  
the army. Meanwhile Phoebidas pressed upon them  
boldly, having with him his peltasts and giving orders  
to the hoplites to follow in battle order. Indeed, he  
conceived the hope of putting the Thebans to rout;  
for while he himself was leading on stoutly, he was  
exhorting the others to attack the enemy and order-  
ing the hoplites of the Thespians to follow. But  
when the horsemen of the Thebans as they retired  
came to an impassable ravine, they first gathered  
together and then turned to face him, not knowing

- ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαῖεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἰππεῖς αὖ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐ-
- 45 τοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κακῆνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονούντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θε-
- 46 σπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιᾶς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεῖαι καθειστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς Θεσπιᾶς ἐφύλαττον.
- 47 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ἥπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταῦτ' ἀγιγνώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς



where they could cross. Now the peltasts were few 378 B.C.  
 in number; the foremost of them were therefore  
 seized with fear of the horsemen and took to flight;  
 but when the horsemen, in their turn, saw this,  
 they applied the lesson they had learned from the  
 fugitives and attacked them. So then Phoebidas  
 and two or three with him fell fighting, and when  
 this happened the mercenaries all took to flight.  
 And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of  
 the Thespians, these also, though previously they  
 had been quite proudly confident that they would  
 not give way before the Thebans, took to flight with-  
 out so much as being pursued at all. For by this  
 time it was too late in the day for a pursuit. Now  
 not many of the Thespians were killed, but never-  
 theless they did not stop until they got within their  
 wall. As a result of this affair the spirits of the  
 Thebans were kindled again, and they made expedi-  
 tions to Thespieae and to the other cities round about  
 them. The democratic factions, however, withdrew  
 from these cities to Thebes. For in all of them  
 oligarchical governments had been established, just  
 as in Thebes<sup>1</sup>; the result was that the friends of the  
 Lacedaemonians in these cities were in need of aid.  
 But after the death of Phoebidas the Lacedae-  
 monians merely sent over by sea a polemarch and  
 one regiment, and thus kept Thespieae garrisoned.

When the spring came, however, the ephors again 377 B.C.  
 called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before,  
 requested Agesilaus to take command. Now since he  
 held the same views as before about invading Boeotia,<sup>2</sup>  
 he sent to the polemarch at Thespieae before even  
 offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him

<sup>1</sup> i.e. formerly; *cp.* § 1.      <sup>2</sup> See § 36 above.



κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν,  
 48 ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν  
 ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποιήσατο  
 εἰς τὰς Θεσπιάς πρῶτον ἵεναι, καὶ πέμπων ἀγο-  
 ράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας  
 ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν  
 49 πρὸς Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγη-  
 σίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπο-  
 ρεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς. καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι  
 δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας, ἔφθασεν  
 ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν  
 τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρό-  
 σθεν εἰσῆλθεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω  
 τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδῆου μέχρι τῆς Τανα-  
 γραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ  
 Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,  
 εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων  
 50 τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετά-  
 ξαντο ἐπὶ Γραὸς στήθει, ὅπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε  
 τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι  
 ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ  
 ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησί-  
 λαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἐπι-  
 51 σιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἦει. οἱ δ' αὖ Θη-  
 βαῖοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν,  
 ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ

to occupy in advance the summit overlooking the road 377 B.C.  
 which leads over Cithaeron and to guard it until he  
 himself arrived. And when he had passed this point  
 and arrived at Plataea, he pretended that he was  
 again going to Thespieae first, and sending thither he  
 gave orders that a market should be made ready and  
 that the embassies should await him there; so that  
 the Thebans guarded strongly the pass leading from  
 Thespieae into their country. But on the following  
 day at daybreak, after offering sacrifices, Agesilaus  
 proceeded by the road to Erythrae. And after  
 accomplishing in one day a two days' march for an  
 army, he passed the line of the stockade at Scolus  
 before the Thebans returned from keeping guard at  
 the place where he had entered on the previous  
 occasion. Having done this, he laid waste the region  
 to the east of the city of the Thebans, as far as the  
 territory of the Tanagraeans; for at that time Hypa-  
 todorus and his followers, who were friends of the  
 Lacedaemonians, still held possession of Tanagra.  
 After this he proceeded to retire, keeping the wall  
 of Tanagra on his left. Meanwhile the Thebans  
 came up quietly and formed in line of battle against  
 him on the hill called Old Woman's Breast, with the  
 trench and the stockade in their rear, believing  
 that this was a good place to risk a battle; for the  
 ground at this point was a rather narrow strip and  
 hard to traverse. When Agesilaus observed this, he  
 did not lead his army against them, but turned aside  
 and proceeded in the direction of the city. The  
 Thebans, on the other hand, being seized with fear  
 for their city, because it was empty of defenders,  
 abandoned the place where they were drawn up and  
 hurried toward the city on the run, by the road

- ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιαῖς ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν  
52 ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἰς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρίται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Θη-  
53 βαίων παρελύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὥς μέντοι ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρίται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶπτον ἢ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι  
54 ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐνθαπερ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἳ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἥδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὄρκους συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλούς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἀλί-  
55 σκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ὁ

which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. 377 B.C. And it really seemed that Agesilaus' expedient proved a clever one, for though he led his army directly away from the enemy, he caused the latter to retire on the run, and while the enemy ran past, some of his polemarchs with their regiments nevertheless succeeded in charging upon them. The Thebans, however, hurled their spears from the hill-tops, so that Alypetus, one of the polemarchs, was struck and killed; but in spite of that the Thebans were put to flight from this hill also. Consequently the Sciritans and some of the horsemen climbed the hill and showered blows upon the hindmost of the Thebans as they rushed past them toward the city. As soon as they got near the wall, however, the Thebans turned about; and the Sciritans, upon seeing them, fell back at a faster pace than a walk. Now not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because after climbing the hill the Sciritans had retired. As for Agesilaus, when it was time for him to do so, he withdrew and encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespieae. But since the peltasts who were mercenaries in the service of the Thebans clung boldly at his heels, and kept calling out to Chabrias because he was not doing the same, the horsemen of the Olynthians—for they were now serving with the Lacedaemonians in accordance with their sworn agreement—wheeled about and, once in pursuit of the peltasts, chased them on up a slope and killed very many of them; for when going up a hill where the riding is good foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen.

Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρὼν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτείνει τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄρκους ὁμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.

- 56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεικονοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριῆρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριῆρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγρησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας<sup>1</sup> ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἵρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς
- 57 ἐσκήνου. ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

- 58 Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετῆς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the MSS. except C: Kel. brackets.

Now when Agesilaus had arrived at Thespieae, finding 377 B.C.  
that the citizens were involved in factional strife,  
and that those who said they were supporters of  
Lacedaemon wanted to put to death their op-  
ponents, of whom Menon was one, he did not allow  
this proceeding; but he reconciled them and com-  
pelled them to give oaths to one another, and then,  
this being accomplished, he came back again by  
way of Cithaeron, taking the road leading to Megara.  
From there he dismissed the allies and led his citizen  
troops back home.

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want  
of corn, because they had got no crops from  
their land for two years; they therefore sent men  
and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving  
them ten talents. But while they were buying  
up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was  
keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes,  
taking care that the fact should not be reported.  
And when the corn was on its way from Pagasae,  
Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made  
prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three  
hundred in number. These men he then shut up in  
the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters.  
Now since, as the story ran, there was a boy of  
Oreus, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in  
attendance upon him, Alcetas went down from the  
Acropolis and occupied himself with this boy. Accord-  
ingly the prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized  
the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that there-  
after the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily.

As the spring came on again, Agesilaus was con- 376 B.C.  
fined to his bed. For when he was leading his  
army back from Thebes, and, in Megara, was



ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ῥήγνυται ὅποια δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρῦη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιός τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἄπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ρεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἠρρώσκει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέβαινε, πάλιν φρουράν τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὥς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἶων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων<sup>1</sup> ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

ascending from the Aphrodisium to the government building, some vein or other was ruptured, and the blood from his body poured into his sound<sup>1</sup> leg. Then as the lower part of his leg became immensely swollen and the pain unendurable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at his ankle. But when once the blood had begun to flow, it ran night and day, and with all they could do they were unable to check the flow until he lost consciousness; then, however, it stopped. So it came about that after being carried back to Lacedaemon he was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter.

The Lacedaemonians, however, when spring was just beginning, again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command. Now when he arrived at Cithaeron with the army, his peltasts went on ahead for the purpose of occupying in advance the heights above the road. But some of the Thebans and Athenians who were already in possession of the summit allowed the peltasts to pursue their ascent for a time, but when they were close upon them, rose from their concealment, pursued them, and killed about forty. After this had happened, Cleombrotus, in the belief that it was impossible to cross over the mountain into the country of the Thebans, led back and disbanded his army.

When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that, through slackness in prosecuting the war, they were going to be worn out by it. For they said it was within their power to man far more ships than the Athenians had and to capture their city by starvation;

<sup>1</sup> See III. iii. 3 and note.

- αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλουντο, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλουντο, ἐπὶ
- 61 Κρεύσιος. ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περί τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος
- 62 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατόν ἔσσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα
- 63 διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἐλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὗτ' ἐν ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὗτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιοικίδας

and it was also within their power to transport an <sup>376 B.C.</sup> army across to Thebes in these same ships, steering for Phocis if they chose, or, if they chose, for Creusis. Influenced by these considerations they manned sixty triremes, and Pollis was made admiral of them. And those who had conceived these views were not disappointed, for the Athenians were in fact as good as besieged; for while their corn ships got as far as Gerastus, they would not now venture to sail along the coast from that point, since the Lacedaemonian fleet was in the neighbourhood of Aegina, Ceos, and Andros. Then the Athenians, realizing the necessity that was upon them, went on board their ships themselves, joined battle with Pollis under the leadership of Chabrias, and were victorious in the battle. Thus the corn was brought in for the Athenians. Again, <sup>375 B.C.</sup> while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to transport an army across the gulf to proceed against the Boeotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to send an expedition around Peloponnesus, believing that if this were done it would not be possible for the Lacedaemonians at one and the same time to guard their own country and likewise the allied cities in their neighbourhood, and also to send across an army large enough to oppose themselves, the Thebans. And the Athenians, angry as they were with the Lacedaemonians on account of Sphodrias' act, did eagerly dispatch the expedition around Peloponnesus, manning sixty ships and choosing Timotheus as their commander. Now since the enemy had not invaded the territory of Thebes in the year when Cleombrotus was in command of the army and did not do so in the year when Timotheus made his voyage, the Thebans boldly undertook expeditions against the

- 64 πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. ὁ μέντοι Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθύς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι ἡνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. ἐξ ὧν τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας
- 65 ἔσχεν. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυτικόν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ ἐξ νεῶν αὐτῶ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτίδων, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἐξήκοντα οὔσαις ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττήθη, καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ.
- 66 ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἐξ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύζειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀνταυῆγε, τροπαῖον αὖ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτῳ νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἄς τε εἶχεν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρήματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο, ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

neighbouring cities of Boeotia and recovered them 875 B.C. a second time. As for Timotheus, after he had sailed round Peloponnesus he brought Corcyra at once under his control; he did not, however, enslave the inhabitants or banish individuals or change the government. As a result of this he made all the states in that region more favourably inclined to him. The Lacedaemonians, however, manned a fleet to oppose him, and sent out Nicolochus, a very daring man, as admiral; and as soon as he sighted the ships under Timotheus, he did not delay, even though six of his ships, those from Ambracia, were not with him, but with fifty-five ships he joined battle with those under Timotheus, which numbered sixty. And at that time he was defeated, and Timotheus set up a trophy at Alyzeia. But when the ships of Timotheus had been hauled up and were being refitted, and meanwhile the six Ambraciot triremes had joined Nicolochus, he sailed to Alyzeia, where Timotheus was. And since the latter did not put out against him, he in his turn set up a trophy on the nearest islands. When, however, Timotheus finished refitting the ships which he had and had manned, besides, others from Corcyra, the whole number of his ships now amounting to more than seventy, he was far superior to the enemy in the size of his fleet. But he kept sending for money from Athens; for he needed a great deal, inasmuch as he had a great many ships.



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